

# Gender in Terrestrial Television Sport

by

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## Abstract

This thesis provides a semiotic analysis of British terrestrial television sport to elicit textual markers within tennis, football, ice skating, motor racing and snooker broadcasts that constitute their varying gendered address. Initial investigations reveal the lack of parallel themes within existing analyses of gendered representations in televised sport, which have largely been conducted in a North American context, and British media and cultural studies. Although developments in British media and cultural studies have shown popular culture genres to be gendered by pointing to the ways in which they respond to and construct masculine and feminine subjectivities within their audiences, these approaches have not examined the relationship between gender and sport in any sustained way, focusing instead on 'feminine narratives' exemplified by soap opera. Sports sociologists have analysed gendered representations in media sport, however, highlighting the media's marginalisation and trivialisation of female athletes. Yet, research on television sport has only begun to be carried out. Rejecting the established tradition in content analysis which has characterised prior research on media sport, along with its conceptualisation of an unproblematic reality, this thesis considers television sport as a gendered genre attracting a predominantly male audience. A detailed transcription of the signifiers within televised sport along the five channels of communication in television is provided, and analysis reveals the complex interrelationship between gender and televised sport. It is argued that, interwoven with themes of age, class and nation, televised sport constructs a range of masculine and feminine subjectivities among its audience. An underlying gendered narrative is identified, which conceives of a masculine hero and requires the presence of femininity only to provide closure. Retaining this narrative, each sport features a specific manifestation of the hero which locates him within a discourse of class and nation. The coherence of this narrative, however, is found to be disrupted by the presence within it of physically active women. The thesis concludes that it is precisely this narrative which must be challenged if television is to give sportswomen recognition for their achievements.

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# Preface

The original impetus for embarking on this project stemmed from a desire to explore three connected areas of interest: gender; the body; and, the media. An interest in embodiment can be traced to my BA degree in philosophy at Essex University, and in particular, the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, taught as part of the department's emphasis on contemporary continental philosophy. Here, I encountered feminist philosophy - Irigaray, Cixous, Kristeva - which consolidated a developing interest in feminism and gender, and led to my pursuing this interest on the MA course in Women's Studies at the University of Kent at Canterbury. The motivation to follow this path was in part the promise of interdisciplinary study, and the opportunity to develop my interests in psychoanalysis and literature. An interest in 'reading' texts led me, when deciding on a PhD topic, to find an area that would admit of an interpretative approach.

With this in mind, I approached Dr. Joyce Sherlock to work on a project concerned with the representation of sportswomen in the media. Despite plentiful content analyses of the print media having been conducted which demonstrated the lack of equivalence with which the press treated male and female athletes, and calls from women's sporting organisations to explore the area, little research on the televising of women's sport had been undertaken.

I intended to fill this gap. From an initial survey of relevant literature, the theoretical inadequacy of the method of content analysis to illuminate underlying reasons for women's marginalisation in the sports media became apparent. With a view to developing a more appropriate response to the problem, then, I engaged on a theoretical review of the literature found within the broad area of feminist cultural and media studies as well as previous research focusing on gender and televised sport. Chapters One and Two represent the results of this exercise. Quite quickly it appeared to me that an approach which aimed at uncovering the latent meanings of the television text had more potential to deal effectively with the complexity of the text of televised sport. Part of this complexity resided in the variety of broadcasts which are united under television's "world of sport". With regard to gender, there appeared to be widely differing messages emanating from, say, swimming, than there were from, say, motor racing. These differences were evident in the audience figures for sports - some sports appeared more popular with a female audience, others with a male audience.



Research which had highlighted the importance of considering the context of television viewing, not simply the text in isolation, encouraged me to build the significance of the gendered character of sport's audience into my analysis. I was then able to draw parallels with work which saw certain texts as 'feminine genres' which appealed specifically to a feminine audience. My question became, was sport a 'masculine genre' with features which appealed specifically to a masculine audience?

While I had not ruled out the possibility of ethnographic work with audiences as a possible response to my question, I considered that questions concerning the text itself remained pressing, the resolution of which was necessary before an analysis could fruitfully extend beyond it. The work that had been conducted with a view to examining the relationship between gender and televised sport which I considered to be most revealing, used semiotics as an analytical approach. The capacity of this work to make links between discourses of gender, class, ethnicity and nationhood, I saw to be its strength.

As a result, I resolved to use a semiotic approach to elicit the address of televised sport to a gendered audience. Chapter Three represents a review of the background theory to semiotics, and the development of a methodology. In choosing which texts to analyse, my intention was to focus on those which, from audience statistics, appear popular with a largely male audience (football, motor racing), a largely female audience (ice skating) or are popular with both men and women (tennis, snooker). In this way I intended to capture both the differences and the similarities of the variety of televised sport.

One of the most significant aspects of this analysis, I believe, has been my approach to providing empirical evidence for my interpretation of the text, or, in Barthes' (1993) terms, capturing the signifiers of the first order system, in order to infer their ideological signifieds. The transience of television and its multiple communication channels make this a difficult task. However, I developed a method of transcribing the content of the five signifying channels (graphics, image, voice, sound effects and music) of televised sport which both aided the elicitation of a gendered address and provided evidence of its existence. The analyses of the results of the transcriptions that followed this process, presented in Chapters Four (tennis) and Five (football), were not entirely linear. The outcome of my transcription of the signifiers of each broadcast prompted me to explore a new body of literature, so that my analysis was text-led, rather than

being predetermined by my prior assumptions of what I might find there. Having found the analysis of sports texts along television's five channels of signification to be rewarding with regard to tennis and football, Chapter Six presents analyses of ice skating, motor racing and snooker which take account of these signifying elements, but no detailed transcription is produced for these sports. Transcriptions of tennis (Graf v Sanchez, Wimbledon '96) and football (England v Holland, Euro '96) are presented in Appendix B and Appendix C, while photographs taken from the screen during the broadcasts analysed can be found in Appendix A.



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# Chapter One

## Analysing Televised Sport: feminism, poststructuralism and the meaning of media texts

With the intention of exploring the question, why is sport disproportionately popular with a male, and not female, television audience?, this thesis will be concerned with theories of gender, the text of televised sport, semiotics and models of textual address. Since it has been primarily within feminist academic work that gender has been considered an important focus of enquiry, this chapter traces developments in feminist theory, from the 1970s to the present, incorporating an exploration of the key concepts underlying poststructuralist feminist orientations. The intention is to provide a thorough theoretical basis from which my analysis of gender in televised sport may arise. The chapter seeks to pick out relevant questions concerning gender which emerge from contemporary feminist theory, and links them to theoretical developments within movements arising outside feminism which have problematised language and the text. Within this context, developments within feminist media studies are discussed as examples of gender-based analyses of specific texts, and the lack of adequate work in the field of media texts popular with a male audience is noted. The unique position of televised sport as a 'masculine' media text is considered, and a theoretical model for the analysis of this text is developed.

### 1.1 Changing Feminism: from the seventies to the nineties

Since the 1970s feminist theory has undergone significant changes, so that it has become necessary to challenge commonly held assumptions that the meaning of feminism and feminist theory is self-evident (Delmar, 1994:5). In the introductory essay to their collection *Destabilizing Theory: contemporary feminist debates*, Barrett and Phillips (1992) provide an analysis that traces the course of feminism over the last twenty years. They see 1970s feminism, despite its divisions into liberal, socialist and radical varieties, essentially united around the assumption that it was both possible and necessary to specify the *cause* of women's oppression (itself being seen as an unproblematic concept). Differences emerge only in what was believed to be the *cause*, which for all three positions lay somewhere within the social structure. Liberal feminists blamed prejudice, irrationality and discrimination, putting their faith in equal opportunities as a



means to change the situation. However, the implicit or explicit individualism behind the assumptions of the liberal response was challenged by socialist and radical feminists, who, accordingly questioned the viability of equal opportunities policies as a solution. Socialist feminists saw the problem as being the capitalist system that gained material benefits from the exploitation of women, blaming the structure rather than the individuals in it. The culpability of men, however, was given greater emphasis by radical feminists, who saw them as the real beneficiaries of the system, putting a deliberate stress on reproduction as an arena of oppression to contrast with socialist feminism's emphasis on production. Yet, despite the diversity of responses characterising the 1970s, Barrett and Phillips (1992) suggest this concealed a consensus over the central questions that all feminists sought to answer, a consensus the authors believe to be no longer evident in 1990s feminism. The reasons for the change appear to be threefold. Firstly, the exposure of many of the assumptions of white feminism to be racist and ethnocentric has had enormous impact. Secondly, the distinction between sex as a biological fact and gender as a social and environmental construct that had emerged in the 1970s in response to the conservative appeal to nature to justify arrangements as they were, became problematic:

sexual difference came to be viewed as more intransigent, but also more positive, than most 1970s feminists had allowed: a shift that was variously signalled in the growing interest in psychoanalytic analyses of sexual difference and identity; in the analysis of women's experience of mothering as forming the basis for alternative (and more generous) conceptions of morality and care; and in its most "essentialist" moments, the celebration of Woman and her Womanly role...Many feminists came to challenge the quasi-androgynous visions (I want to be a person, not a woman or a man) of a future untroubled by significant differences of sex; the impulse towards denying sexual difference came to be viewed as capitulation to a masculine mould (1992: 4-5).

Lastly, the authors suggest that the appropriation and development of post-structuralist and postmodernist ideas by feminists accounts for a further change, highlighting parallel lines and links between feminist and non-feminist enquiry. The authors allude to the movement away from grand theory towards local studies, away from cross cultural analyses of patriarchy towards a concentration on the complex interplay of sex, race and class, away from assertions of the interests of women, with its reliance on a conception of female identity, towards



a focus on "the instability of female identity and the active creation and recreations of women's needs or concerns" (6). Part of what drops out in these movements, say the authors is, "the assumption of a pre-given hierarchy of causation waiting only to be uncovered", and they wonder whether "such developments leave feminists with nothing general to say" (7).

Whether or not this fear is a legitimate one remains to be seen, but it is certainly from within the context described by Barrett and Phillips that I intend my work to proceed. Feminism has questioned assumptions at the heart of fields of enquiry, making links across and between disciplines. As a result much feminist work is now carried out in a fully interdisciplinary context, and feminist theory has necessitated the adoption of concepts and methods from previously separate fields, as well as taking on board theories "whose impulse was not first found in feminism" as Barrett and Phillips put it (1992: 5). Perhaps awareness of the complexity of the network of reference points involved in contemporary feminist work could go some way to assuage the fears these authors highlight concerning the general import of the feminist message. The move from grand theory to local studies has meant that the superficial breadth of application of theory has given way to work whose theoretical ramifications reach an ever greater number of disciplines and fields.

## 1.2 Outside Feminism: structuralism and beyond

Barratt & Phillips (1992) have suggested that the interest shown by certain feminists in poststructuralism and postmodernism has been the source of one of feminism's most important recent changes. This new trend in feminist theory can be traced to a focus on a number of new themes and concepts which have their origin within the structuralist linguistics, anthropology and psychoanalysis of, respectively, Saussure, Levi-Strauss and Lacan. Saussure's work, rediscovered in the 1960s, shifted emphasis away from the etymological approach to the study of language found among his contemporaries, with its insistence on there being an intrinsic connection between an object and its name, towards an understanding of language as a system of signs. For Saussure, language is a network of elements which have significance only in relation to each other. Each element of language is made up of two parts: the *signifier* (its meaningful form or "sound image") and the *signified* (the concept it evokes, the meaning the "sound image" generates). The connection between these two parts is, importantly, arbitrary, and each signifier or signified has value only in the ways in which it *differs* from all other



signifiers and signifieds in the same system. Saussure distinguished between *langue* and *parole*, *langue*, as the abstract linguistic system preceding any individual use of it, being privileged over *parole*, the individual speech acts, as an object of study. For Saussure, language should be studied as a structure of differences without positive terms, and the term he gave for such a study was semiology.

In the hands of the anthropologist, Lévi-Strauss, and the psychoanalyst, Lacan, this view of language had important consequences for the conceptualisation of gender. In Levi-Strauss's anthropology, "the symbolic structures of kinship, language and the exchange of goods became the key to understanding social life, not biology" (Lechte, 1994:72) and within these structures, common to all cultures, the exchange of women is the "original or founding cultural moment" (Franklin, Lury and Stacey, 1991:9). Sexual difference, as the fundamental cultural construction, has a similar centrality to Lacan's re-reading of Freudian psychoanalysis.

Lacan's revision of Freud reinvigorated the concept of the unconscious and dismantled the previously held theory of the ego "as identical with itself, as homogenous, and the privileged source of individual identity", and in so doing, "the belief that human intention, understanding and consciousness were fundamental" (Lechte, 1994:67). Lacan made central the importance of language in Freud's work, developing the concept of the "Symbolic Order", often equated with the Saussurian "*langue*": "the order of signs, symbols, significations, representations and images" in which "the individual is formed as subject" (Lechte, 1994:68). Entry into the Symbolic Order, is, however, different for male and female children. The child takes its place in the Symbolic through the mirror stage, in which it sees its reflection in a mirror as both itself (its reflection) and not itself (*only* its reflection). This stage is necessary for the child to understand itself as a subject, a social being, to enter into language where it can see itself as speaker (I), addressee (you), and someone mentioned in others' speech (s/he). However, the crucial position of the phallus within the Symbolic Order - it is the symbol which "rules" the Symbolic-means that entry to the Symbolic Order is different for differently sexed children, since the phallus is also the mark of sexual differentiation. The importance of the position given to the phallus by Lacan results from his symbolic interpretation of the Oedipal Complex - the phallus, rather than the biological penis, becomes the cultural symbol of masculinity:

The story is that the infant's entry into language parallels its separation from the mother. Before separation, there is a plenitude based on the union of mother and child. After separation, the mother becomes the child's first object - that is, its first experience of absence, or lack. For the mother, on the other hand, the child is a substitute for the missing phallus: she feels a sense of fulfilment in light of her close bond with the child. Without separation, however, the formation of language is inhibited. The father, for his part, is the element which tends to intervene in the mother-child relationship, so that in identifying with him, the child can come to form an identity of its own (Lechte, 1994:69).

The coming to terms with sexual difference which results in the child's identity rests on its recognition that the mother lacks the phallus, and thereby intimates the possibility of castration that the threat of the phallus holds. The phallus, then, has two meanings for the child, one associated with lack, the loss of the mother's body, and the other with prohibition and threat that made the child aware of it. It stands for the authority of the law, the patriarchal social order. Lacanian psychoanalysis provides a way, therefore, to understand how "difference is fixed as inequality through the acquisition of a gendered identity" (Franklin, Lury and Stacey, 1991:10). Yet, for some, Lacan's insistence on the cultural (phallus) not biological (penis) is unconvincing, leading back to a naturalisation of inequality. Cameron (1992) remarks that:

it must also be admitted that the phallus is, in an important sense, the penis...what is problematic is the idea that when a child notices the difference between men and women, she will instantly interpret it in a particular way - specifically, the female genitals will be seen to "lack" what the male genitals have. Why should the child - at this stage, the prelinguistic child - already have the "binary opposition" mentality that constructs the world into sets of "X" and "not-X"? Lacan's own account resting on the argument that the penis is particularly salient and visible, seems to underlie both the implicit conflation of fantasy-phallus with real penis and the assumption that the penis is superior to female genitals, thus inviting feminist objections to the idea of anatomy is destiny (p. 166-7).



Cameron agrees with Rose's observation that "what counts is not the perception but the already assigned meaning" (in Cameron, 1992:167), but admits to "some perplexity on the question of how children on the brink of symbolic language can have internalised this 'already assigned meaning' of the crucial signifier" (1992:167). Other objections to Lacan have been articulated by Irigaray, a psychoanalyst and philosopher whose expulsion from the Freudian school resulted from the publication of her thesis, *Speculum de l'autre femme* in 1974. Irigaray's critique points to the masculine centred character of Lacanian psychoanalysis. Lacan's system can admit of no plurality, privileging the masculine and able to conceptualise woman only as the binary opposite of man, always in terms of "lack". As Cameron explains,

Irigaray asserts the difference and otherness of women; Lacan, in her opinion, denies it and so neutralises its power.

To Lacan's famous pronouncement 'the unconscious is structured like a language', Irigaray asks, 'whose language?' (1992:170).

Language, for Lacan, is ruled by the phallus: women's relation to it is negative. For Irigaray, however, women have a different language, a language of their own. Cameron quotes from an interview with Couze Venn published in 1977 under the title, "Women's Exile":

The question of language is closely allied to that of feminine sexuality. For I do not believe that language is universal, or neutral with regard to the difference of the sexes. In the face of language, constructed and maintained by men only, I raise the question of the specificity of a feminine language; of a language that would be adequate for the body, sex and the imagination...of the woman. A language which presents itself as universal and which is in fact produced by men only, is this not what maintains the alienation and exploitation of women in and by society? (in Cameron, 1992:170).

Irigaray takes the differential embodiment of the sexes, and the resulting signification of that difference as a way in to a description of a feminine language. Just as the penis signifies unity, the labia speak of plurality: "a feminine discourse would undo the unique meaning, the proper meaning of words, of nouns, which still regulates discourse" (Irigaray, in Cameron, 1992:171).

### 1.3 Language, culture, gender

Lacan places the construction of gender at the centre of language, and therefore culture. However, the masculine dominance of language-culture takes on an *a priori* existence within his system. An awareness of the masculine bias within Lacanian psychoanalysis which his critics, like Irigaray, uncover is, therefore, a very necessary precondition to the use of Lacanian derived terms and concepts. The discovery of hidden masculine bias within culture, where egalitarian overtures seek to obscure such bias, has been a central feminist project, a project that it is necessary to continue. As Nochlin suggests in her article, "Why have there been no great women artists?", such a simple "woman question", if adequately answered, can:

create a sort of chain reaction, expanding not merely to encompass the accepted assumptions of the single field, but outward to embrace history and the social sciences, or even psychology and literature, and thereby, from the outset, can challenge the assumption that the traditional divisions of intellectual inquiry are still adequate to deal with the meaningful questions of our time, rather than the merely convenient or self-generated ones (1994:94).

Feminist inquiry, informed by the concept of language and culture as sign systems, wherein gender difference is created, at all times privileging the masculine, can in this way become the kind of catalyst or "intellectual instrument, probing basic and "natural" assumptions, providing a paradigm for other kinds of internal questioning, and in turn providing links with paradigms established by radical approaches in other fields" that Nochlin (1994:94) describes. Accordingly, feminist analysis of cultural "texts" - defined by Scott (1994:359) as "not only books and documents but also utterances of any kind and in any medium including cultural practices" - is characteristic of an approach linked to poststructuralism. With an understanding that words and texts have no intrinsic meaning, "no transparent or self-evident relationship between them and either ideas or things, no basic or ultimate correspondence between language and the world" (Scott, 1994:359) the questions that need to be asked are:



How do meanings change? How have some meanings emerged as normative and others been eclipsed or disappeared? What do these processes reveal about how power is constituted and operates? (Scott, 1994:359)

Scott regards these questions as being partially answered by Foucault's concept of discourse which she defines as "not a language or text but a historically, socially, and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs" (1994:359) within which meanings are continually contested. She says:

the power to control a particular [discursive] field resides in claims to (scientific) knowledge embodied not only in writing but also in disciplinary and professional organizations, in institutions (hospitals, prisons, schools, factories), and in social relationships (doctor/patient, teacher/student, employer/worker, parent/child, husband/wife). Discourse is thus contained or expressed in organizations and institutions as well as in words; all of these constitute texts or documents to be read (1994:360).

In analysing the discourses of a specific era, it becomes possible to uncover what has been considered as "truth" in that era, truths believed to be self-evident or objectively proven, but which compete with other "truths" and change over time. Discourse is thus understood as power-knowledge which becomes dispersed in a network of micro-relations, allowing the possibility of challenging the notion of history as a linear tendency to progress. Scott suggests that the brilliance of much of Foucault's work has been "to illuminate the shared assumptions of what seemed to be sharply different arguments, thus exposing the limits of radical criticism and the extent of the power of dominant ideologies or epistemologies" (1994:360). By applying concepts derived from Foucault to feminist concerns, it has been possible to begin to uncover the ways that the meaning of sexual difference has been constructed within the discourses of science. In psychology, for example, Hare-Mustin and Maracek, have discussed the consequences of "alpha bias" and "beta bias", that is, the tendency, in psychology, to emphasise or minimise, respectively, the importance of gender differences. They conclude that:

alpha and beta bias have similar assumptive frameworks despite their diverse emphases. Both take the male as the standard of comparison. Both construct gender as attributes of individuals, not as the ongoing relations of men and women. Neither effectively challenges the gender hierarchy, and ultimately neither transcends the status quo (1994:69).

These authors want to go beyond the construction of gender difference as opposites, suggesting that to "establish a dichotomy is to avoid complexity. The idea of gender as opposites obscures the complexity of human action and shields both men and women from the discomfoting recognition of inequality" (Hare-Mustin and Maracek, 1994:69). In so doing they link their work to concern with difference, which Scott (1994) regards as another central feature of poststructuralist feminism. She says:

An important dimension of poststructuralist analyses of language has to do with the concept of difference, the notion...that meaning is made through implicit or explicit contrast, that a positive definition rests on the negation or repression of something represented as antithetical to it. Thus, any unitary concept in fact contains repressed or negated material; it is established in explicit opposition to another term. An analysis of meaning involves teasing out these negations and oppositions, figuring out how (and whether) they are operating in specific contexts (1994:361).

The contrast masculine/feminine is one such opposition that rests on metaphors and cross references which serves to encode meanings "that are literally unrelated to gender or the body" (Scott, 1994:361). In that way, Scott maintains, "the meanings of gender have become tied to many kinds of cultural representations, and these in turn establish terms by which relations between women and men are organized and understood" (1994:361). Like Hare-Mustin and Maracek's discussion of alpha and beta bias, Scott (1994) suggests that such fixed oppositions conceal a hidden interdependence, and following Derrida, understands interdependence as hierarchical, with one term dominant or prior and the opposite term subordinate and secondary, so that the history of Western thought comes to be seen as dependent on a logic of identity. Uncovering the workings of difference within oppositions, so as to demonstrate how a first term within a binary pairing - unity/diversity, identity/difference, presence/absence - can depend on and derive its meaning from the second term, becomes the process



of deconstruction. This "double process" Scott describes as "the reversal and displacement of binary oppositions" which can reveal "the interdependence of seemingly dichotomous terms and their meaning relative to a particular history" (1994:361). Scott's own work involves an analysis of a sex discrimination complaint brought against the retailing group Sears by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission in America, in which she finds the seemingly opposite terms equality and difference involved in the interdependence she describes. Scott's analysis allows her to see that the "equality versus difference" debate, which the Sears case plays out, rests on a false antithesis, which denies "the way in which difference has long figured in political notions of equality and it suggests that sameness is the only ground on which equality can be claimed" (1994:367). Rather than accept the premise that, because women cannot be identical to men in all respects, they cannot be equal, Scott envisages an alternative involving a continual insistence on differences: "differences as the condition of individual and collective identities, differences as the constant challenge to the fixing of those identities, history as the repeated illustration of the play of differences, differences as the very meaning of equality itself" (1994:367-8).

#### 1.4 Gendering the media: text and audience

From this perspective, then, it becomes possible to analyse texts as cultural processes, which are, in the words of Smith, *actively* organising social relations within textual discourse (Smith, 1990:122). For Smith, the textual event is pervasive but largely unnoticed, so that filling in forms, reading newspapers, watching television are aspects of a continually textually mediated existence. It is unsurprising, then, that the media text has a long history of importance for feminism, featuring as a central concern for the early feminist work of Freidan (1963) and Greer (1971), for example. Van Zoonen (1994) suggests that feminist concern with the media has centred around three themes: an interest in stereotypes and socialisation; pornography; and ideology. Within all three approaches, she says, the media are conceptualised as agents of social control, and in this respect, they correspond to Barrett and Phillips' (1992) characterisation of early feminist work as unified around a central question as to the cause of women's oppression. Van Zoonen describes the ways in which the media are said to operate within the three approaches in the following terms:

in research on stereotypes it is said that media pass on society's heritage - which is deeply sexist - in order to secure continuity, integration and the incorporation of change...; anti-pornography campaigners argue that media serve the needs of patriarchy by representing women as objects and by suppressing women's own experiences...;and in theories of ideology media are viewed as hegemonic institutions that present the capitalist and patriarchal order as "normal", obscuring its ideological nature and translating it into common sense...(1994:27).

Integral to these theories, however, is a model of communication which conceives of a passive audience in receipt of the media's relatively consistent message. The realisation that such a model may be inadequate, taking no account of the ways in which audiences actively negotiate with the media text to create meaning, has signalled what Van Zoonen (1994) describes as a paradigm shift in communication studies. In place of the old transmission model, Van Zoonen suggests Hall's (1993) encoding-decoding model, where meaning can be understood as "constructed out of the historically and socially situated negotiation between institutional producers of meaning and audiences as producers of meaning" (Van Zoonen, 1994:27). Of equal importance, for Van Zoonen, is a corresponding reconceptualisation of "reality". If the justification for the critique of the abundance of stereotyped images of women in the media has been that such representations do not reflect reality, it becomes necessary to observe that the stereotypes that feminists often object to may correspond with many women's real lives. There is a need, therefore, to accept that the media do not produce "unequivocal meanings which are either real or not real" (Van Zoonen, 1992: 43), but may construct diverging and contradictory articulations of gender. The advantages of Hall's model for Van Zoonen, therefore, is to allow that, at all levels of production, texts and reception of media, a discursive negotiation over gender is taking place, and:

As a result of the tensions in the "encoding" process, as Hall calls it, media texts do not constitute a closed ideological system, but "reflect" the contradictions of the production. Media texts thus carry multiple meanings and are open to a range of interpretations, in other words they are inherently "polysemic". The thus encoded structures of meaning are brought back into the practices of audiences by their similarly contradictory, but reverse "decoding" process (Van Zoonen, 1994:41).



Importantly, for Hall and Van Zoonen, the meanings of media texts will be, therefore, multiple - but not infinite. Most texts will have a preferred meaning, which "given the economic and ideological location of most media" (Van Zoonen, 1994:42) will tend to reproduce the dominant values of society.

## 1. 5 Feminism on Television

While the analysis of media texts has a long history, and the connection with feminist scholarship has been observed, relatively little work has been carried out on television. Television is neither a static medium, nor available for analysis in discrete blocks as is film. It is perhaps these characteristics that have presented difficulties in the analysis of television as distinct from other media texts. Yet, television has enormous popularity and availability, often allowing engagement of the viewer without the disruption of other tasks. Additionally, the home-based character of many women's lives has meant that women have had particular ease of access to television. Cooper-Chen (1994) has revealed that, in a study of adult viewing habits in five countries - Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Britain and the United States - women watch more television than men across all five cultures. Television is, therefore, an important site of investigation for feminist media theorists. Yet, theoretical approaches deriving from film studies and media studies have vied for importance in attempts to explain the television medium. It is in this context that Gray (1987) points to the two different notions of a "gendered" audience to be found in media studies and film studies. Media studies theorists conceive of a "social audience", an audience which will read media texts from a position of already constituted masculinity or femininity. Film studies theorists, on the other hand, regard the text as offering the audience gendered subject positions for them to recognise themselves in and thereby take up. The theoretical underpinning for this approach is derived from the work of Althusser who argued that Ideological State Apparatuses, like the family, education, organised politics and the media, reproduce ideology which obscures the people's real relation to the conditions of their existence. They do this by interpellating individuals as subjects of their discourse, as would a policeman who yells "Hey you!" to a stranger, who, identifying him or herself as addressed, turns, and becomes subject to the policeman's meanings and definitions. Althusser himself was reliant on the work of Gramsci who formulated the influential concept of hegemony. Against the belief in the power of economic conditions alone to cause a crisis of capitalism, Gramsci conceived of political

control as not simply coercive but consensual. This control he termed "hegemony", and contrasted the hegemonic class to the corporate class which has only a narrow, short term conception of its economic interests. The hegemonic class goes beyond such a position, and universalises its interests so that "they can and must become the interests of the other subordinate groups" (Gramsci, 1971:181). The hegemonic class is able, then, to have the nation's moral and intellectual unity coincide with its economic and political objectives.

Psychoanalysis was combined with film theory's conception of textual address, to elicit such work as Mulvey's now classic article, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema". For Mulvey, there are two contradictory, but constitutive pleasures for the cinematic audience, the reconciliation of which is enabled by "the patriarchal definition of looking as a male activity and being looked at as a female 'passivity'" (Van Zoonen, 1994:89). A Lacanian reading of Freudian psychoanalysis underlies Mulvey's understanding of the possibilities of visual pleasure. For Mulvey, the logic of the phallogocentric order depends on "the image of the castrated woman to give order and meaning to its world" (1993:111). Woman's lack gives significance to the phallus, her desire "to make good the lack" (111) that the phallus signifies. Woman, however, is unable to transcend castration, and can exist in patriarchal culture as a silent image, on which man's fantasies and obsessions can be imposed.

Mulvey maintains that pleasure for the cinema spectator is to be found in scopophilia and voyeurism, that is, the pleasure of looking and the sense that the spectator is spying on a private world. Her understanding of Lacan's formulation of the mirror phase leads her to suggest that, just as the child sees its mirror image as more perfect than its experience of its inadequate motor skills would have suggested, the spectator accordingly misrecognises him- (or her-) self in the perfect screen image, thus engendering in the spectator a feeling of omnipotence recalling the initial childhood fascination.

Since looking is active and masculine, and being looked at, passive and feminine, women, in mainstream Hollywood film, function simultaneously as erotic objects for both the scopophilic male viewer, and for the male protagonist, with whom the male viewer can identify. Female scopophilia and identification is out of the question for Mulvey, and even male pleasure can be threatened by the castration anxiety the sign of woman evokes.



That the masculinity of the gaze is inescapable (so that an equivalent female gaze is impossible) is brought out by Pollock's analysis of one image that might be considered as potentially reversing the gaze. The image Pollock chooses is an example, in her terms, of one of "the misconceived attempts by certain magazines to offer to women erotic images of men" (1987:134), and features a naked, muscle-bound man leading a horse by the reins. The reins cut the accessibility of his penis from the supposed female viewer. "The figure is active, self contained, does not engage the gaze of the spectator ... What is absolutely lacking is any conceivable position of ownership or possession offered to the spectator" (134-5). Pollock suggests that the historical specificity of the sign "man" curtails what can be signified by the male figure, unable to shake off the burden imposed by the constant borrowing of masculine motifs from art history. Such a depiction plays off the cultural "obviousness" (Barthes, 1993) of the relationship between masculine activity and feminine passivity. No representation of the male body can exist independently of the male gaze. Here, the figure's stoicism, his developed musculature, his social distance, betray the phallic economy within which the image is constructed.

Van Zoonen (1994) makes reference to the male pin-up's lack of passivity as one of his important features. "If he is actually doing something, the picture presents the female spectators with various signs of activity. Sports and muscular structure have already been mentioned, other signs often refer to work" (101). It is the prowess of the man's skills, not simply the man as passive object, which the viewer may admire.

However, the reliance on the capacity of the text to position its audience indicative of this approach, has resulted in tension between this and the "social audience" approach of media studies theorists. Morley (1992) brings out the problem very clearly:

...we must beware of arguing that the positions of knowledge inscribed in the textual operations are obligatory for all readers. We must also distinguish between the positions which the text prefers and prescribes in its discursive operations and the process by which concrete individuals, already constituted as subjects for a multiplicity of discourses, are (successfully or inadequately) interpellated by any single text. Individuals are not merely subjects for/by leave of a single text (Morley, 1992: 66).

Important for Morley is that there need not be a necessary correspondence between the concrete individual, his or her constitution as a "subject-for-discourse", and the discursive subject positions constituted by specific discursive practices and operations. Within what he refers to as "Screen theory", an unjustified conflation of subject of the text and social subject occurs. Suggesting that the question of how subjectivity is achieved is a complex one, Morley maintains that "feminist film practice can be seen no longer simply in terms of the effectivity of a system of representation, but rather as a production of and by subjects already in social practices" (Morley, 1992:68). Similarly, Moore (1988) has pointed to the limitations of applying film theory to television, suggesting that the unified spectator of film theory is unable to account for the very different spectating experience of the television viewer. In contrast to film theory's male gaze, Moore maintains television might allow for a "female gaze", though she is quick to point out that a female gaze is not an attribute of anatomy, since gender is not "coterminous with a predetermined subject position within the text. Preferred readings may not always be preferred..." (1988:52). That the apparatus of television engenders a viewing position different from film, is central to Kaplan's analysis (1996) of the postmodern gendered address of MTV. Unlike film, whose audience is required to identify (via the camera lens) with the masculine protagonist, unable, therefore, to avoid the monolithic, male gaze (Mulvey, 1993), a variety of gazes is made possible by the technology of television. Identifiable across the segments of television - soap opera segments, crime series segments, news segments, morning show segments - is a varying address to a particular kind of male or female Imaginary, Kaplan suggests. The television spectator, is, then, a decentred spectator, with the result that "people of both genders are often able to undertake multiple identifications" (240).

This point is brought out further by Ang and Hermes (1992):

subjectivity is non-unitary, produced in and through the intersection of a multitude of social discourses and practices which position the individual subject in heterogeneous, overlapping and competing ways...Moreover...an individual's subjectivity is never finished, constantly in reproduction as it were as s/he lives out her/his day-to-day life and engages herself/himself with a variety of discourses and practices encountering and positioning her/him. In this sense a female person cannot be presumed to have a pre-given and fixed gender identity



as a woman. Rather, an individual's gendered subjectivity is constantly in process of reproduction and transformation (1992:316).

Nevertheless, research on audience preference with respect to gender, like that completed by Morley (1986) and Gray (1987) illuminates clear difference with regard to programme types preferred by men and women. Women appear more likely to prefer soap opera, men to like news and sport. Both Morley (1986) and Gray's (1987) research also indicated a gendered use of the related technology within the home, with remote controls and VCRs dominated by males in the household. It becomes a pertinent question to ask then, as Ang and Hermes do, in light of their theories of subjectivity, "why male and female persons keep identifying with positions that are defined as properly masculine or feminine in dominant discourses", (1992:316)? The authors' response is to develop a concept of "investment" - an emotional commitment involved in the taking up of certain subject positions by concrete subjects - suggesting that there may be some satisfaction or reward involved:

Given the social dominance of gender discourses based upon the naturalness of sexual difference there is considerable social and cultural pressure on female and male persons, to invest in feminine and masculine subject positions respectively...the construction of gender identity and gender relations is a constant achievement to which subjects themselves are complicit (Ang and Hermes, 1992:317).

Within such a framework, the relevant question as to the relation of gender issues to the media, and to television specifically, becomes "how does television respond to and help construct gender divisions in programme content and audience?" and an acknowledgement of multiple subjectivities with television's audience does not foreclose the possibility of response. Instead, a project aiming to describe the positions - the "I-slots" (Spivak, in Shildrick, 1997:172) - that television makes available for audience members to step into and out of, remains a pressing concern.

In an article attempting to "liberate" television criticism from the "wet blanket thrown by literary elitists upon the study of all popular culture phenomena" (1990:40), Deming responds to the difficulty of applying the auteur theory of creativity to television, giving an account of the collaborative authorship of television:

Most television programs only get made with the approval of powerful gatekeepers within the networks and production companies that service them. Television production is simply too expensive to be done speculatively. Once in production, programs evolve with the contributions of actors and technical staff. In series production, time constraints are so severe that programs are polished to a limited perfection. Network censors, who approve every moment broadcast by a network, have the power to delete the most carefully crafted scene on the basis of an objectionable word or image (1990:44).

Deming's conclusion is that, "ultimately, the author of most television programs is the culture *as perceived by television's gatekeepers*" (1990:44). In this way, television audience and programme content become inevitably linked, and it is perhaps in this context that it is best to understand Brunsdon's (1993) summation of feminist theorists' contribution to television research in the last fifteen years as being:

the gendering of two key concepts, that of genre and that of audience. We now have gendered genres and we also have gendered audiences (1993:311).

Berger (1992) quotes Kellner's explanation of the concept of genre:

a genre consists of a coded set of formulas and conventions which indicate a culturally accepted way of organising material into distinct patterns. Once established, genres dictate the basic conditions of cultural production and reception. For example, crime dramas invariably have a violent crime, a search for its perpetrators, and often a chase, fight, or bloody elimination of the criminal, communicating the message "crime does not pay". The audience comes to expect these predictable pleasures and a crime drama "code" develops, enshrined in production studio texts and practices (in Berger, 1992:44)

The genre which has been of most interest to feminist media theorists is that of soap opera, a much maligned programme type widely understood to be popular with a female audience. Research into such 'feminine pleasures', seeking both to establish which features account for soap opera's differentially gendered appeal



and to re-evaluate its cultural status, has dominated feminist television studies. Soap opera has been characterised as an "open" text, one that does not "attempt to close off alternative meanings and narrow [the] focus to one easily attainable meaning" (Fiske, 1987:94). Instead, the multiplicity of characters and plotlines in soap operas become a "plenitude [which] opens them up to a variety of readings and reading positions" (Fiske, 1987:194). Part of the appeal to women, then, is the text's capacity to be read in ways which accord with their social and subjective experiences (Ang and Hermes, 1992). Other features said to address feminine subjects are the presence of strong female characters and sensitive male ones, emphasis on dialogue and intimate conversation, a domestic or pseudo-domestic setting, time which parallels real time and abrupt segmentation between parts (Brown, cited in Fiske, 1987).

## 1.6 Masculine media? The case of televised sport

Research into gender issues and television and the media in general has, however, been heavily one-sided. Craig complains of as much in his introduction to the collection *Men, Masculinity and the Media*:

as we might have expected, most feminist analyses of the media have focused on women. In fact, men and masculinity have frequently been treated as the "norm" and men's portrayals in the media have often been seen as unproblematic or even exemplary...But feminist theory's concept of a socially constructed gender suggests that the analysis of men and masculinity will also provide valuable insights into social relationships. For example, how can we understand the social forces involved in patriarchy without understanding the gendering of men? (Craig, 1992:1)

Van Zoonen echoes Craig's concern:

do we really think *gender* is only constructed in "women's media"? How about the construction of masculinity found in sports programs, war movies, Playboy and Penthouse, to ventilate just a few stereotypes about men (1992:48-9).

The assumption, therefore, is, just as 'women's media', of which soap opera is a vital part, help construct femininity for a female audience, so 'men's media' help construct masculinity for men. And the prime example of 'men's media' is

televised sports programming. The popularity of televised sport with a male audience is borne out by all forms of available evidence, and, conversely, its lack of popularity with women watching has been equally well documented. While Cooper-Chen (1994) says women watch more television than men world-wide, the sole exception to the rule is televised sport:

...worldwide, more men than women watch televised sports. In Norway, for example, 64% of men and 49% of women watch televised sports. In Germany, 75% of men and 52% of women regularly watch televised sports. Sports is the only TV program type that attracts more men than women (Cooper-Chen, 1994:266).

In regarding such audience ratings figures, it is to be remembered that the definition of viewing used by, for example, the British Audience Research Board (BARB) is, being "present in the room while the set is switched on" (Stoessl, 1987). If this and a number of other factors are taken into account, women's resistance to watching televised sport becomes even more pronounced. Firstly, research performed by Morley (1986) and Gray (1987) documented male domination of both programme choice and technology. Secondly, evidence suggests that "90% of viewing would happen regardless of what is shown" (Stoessl, 1987:110). Lastly, the global picture of women emerges as one where they are more likely to be home-based and therefore more likely to be available for television watching (Cooper-Chen, 1994). If viewing is simply being present in the room (Stoessl, 1987) and women generally watch more television than men (Cooper-Chen, 1994), and, when men are in the house, they tend to choose which programme is seen (Morley, 1986), then it would be would appear likely that, if 75% of men are watching a programme, not to find an equivalent number of female viewers present, however apathetic they may be, marks a significant rejection of that programme type. After all, women have a greater presence than men in the audience of the other "masculine genres" of news and documentaries (Stoessl, 1987). Television sport appears to have a quite dramatic and unique capacity to respond to and construct a gendered audience.

Feminists have responded to the male domination of the sports media (for example, Bryson (1987); Kidd (1987); Messner (1987); Klein (1988); Lee (1992); Hargreaves (1994); Creedon (1994)), often employing very different kinds of research methods in an attempt to analyse the relations between gender and media sport. What appears to motivate them all, however, is what they



consider to be the trivialisation and marginalisation of sporting women by the sports media. While only a fraction of this work refers specifically to television sport, this trend can be seen in a study reported by Sabo and Jansen (1992). When television coverage of men's and women's sports in Los Angeles in the summer of 1989 was compared, the authors reveal what they refer to as gender marking in the naming of events, infantilisation of women by commentators, a difference in the verbal descriptors applied to men and women, and a general neutralisation of women's physical strengths by ambivalent language. Yet, the authors do not approach the question of the differential appeal of televised sport to men and women as spectators and leave unstated assumptions about the value of both the terms they use and of sport itself. These authors confine their analytic activity to the verbal commentary of sports broadcasts, and while other work has involved concepts from semiotics to examine title sequences and camera angles (Poynton and Hartley, 1990), there has been no attempt to account for the ways in which texts might position a gendered audience through these features.

Creedon summarises the "insights of earlier scholars" (1994:5) in terms of an understanding that "the playing field - gymnasium, arena, court, stadium or anywhere else that sports are played - serves as a metaphor for gender values in American culture" (1994:5). This notion of sport as metaphor is central to any understanding of the role of sports within culture. Yet, televising sport has the effect of creating an additional text from an already complex cultural process. If both sports-as-played and the television sport are regarded as two meaning generating (semiotic) structures, the translation of one to the other becomes a moment of importance. Whannel (1992) refers to this process as "cultural transformation", suggesting that:

While it's possible to debate whether the changes wrought by television and sponsorship are good or bad, it's more relevant to try and understand the conventions of television, how they emerged, and how television, as an economic reality and a set of aesthetic conventions, has intervened in and transformed the cultural practices of sports (1992:3).

Rail (1990) has been concerned to point to the lack of correlation of the codes of sport-as-played and televised sport, suggesting that television imposes a model on the "reality" of sport, through which the meanings of sports events are framed, organised and interpreted:

the model used to mediate sport is such that viewers are lead to believe that what is presented to them constitutes the natural and universally accepted version of sport. In fact, however, the model underlies an ideology which transpires not only in the choice of programs and narratives, but in the choice of production techniques and technologies (Rail, 1990:3).

In this sense, it is possible to borrow from Lotman's discussion of the transformation of meaning when one artistic text (a verbal one, for example) is translated by another of a different kind (a pictorial one), to further clarify the process:

Since in this case the meaning is not only an invariant remnant which is preserved under all manner of transformational operations, but is also what is altered, we can claim there is an accretion of meaning in the process of such transformations (Lotman, 1990:15).

The "accretion of meaning", specifically in relation to cultural gender values, that occurs when sport is televised will be, then, the object of this analysis.

If the text of televised sport can be understood to be a meaning-generating structure, in which gender values are constructed, and which has, by virtue of the ways the text positions its viewers, a differential appeal to a gendered audience, in order to "decode" the text, it is necessary to have a developed model of how such a process might, *exactly*, occur. Importantly, if a textual address to a masculine or feminine subject position need not, as Morley (1992) has observed, correlate with the viewing practices of actual men and women, allowing for "resistant" readings, a model which can take account of these difficulties becomes necessary. Such a model has been developed by Mills (1992).

### 1.7 Direct and Indirect Address: a model for the analysis of televised sport

Mills suggests that her model can take into account "the interactional nature of the relation between texts and their context. Thus, texts are determined by a range of pressures on their processes of production and reception, and also have an effect on their audience and also on the processes of production of further texts" (1992:185). Mills observes that certain feminist media critics (Williamson,



1978; Fetterley, 1988; Betterton, 1987; Kuhn, 1982; Mulvey, 1993) have considered the textual positioning of readers with regard to gender, but have simply asserted that the positioning happens, without much attempt to "trace formal features of the text which might serve as markers, to the reader, of this positioning" (1992:185), the task she sets herself. However, the tracing of the formal features of a televisual text which could serve as markers to the viewer of television's gendered address is a complicated matter. Television combines the written word with constantly changing sound and image. Its movement and transience make it a text very difficult to analyse, and, unlike film is not reducible to individual frames. A technique suited to the analysis of audio-visual signification is necessary to make possible the elucidation of an address, and here it seems likely that semiotics, derived from the work of Saussure and Peirce originally as a linguistic theory but since refined via anthropology and psychoanalysis to make possible the study of cultural texts of a visual, auditory or graphic-quality, like film and television, would be an appropriate tool.

Mills bases her work on a model of communication very similar to Hall's encoding-decoding model, suggesting that "the reader is positioned by the text in a range of ways which can be accepted or resisted" but "if there were no dominant reading then there would be no consensus whatsoever as to what texts meant" (1992:184). Mills takes Althusser's notion of textual interpellation of the subject and adapts it to include the concept of indirect address. Using research on audience positioning by pop songs, she suggests that, when hailed by a text, the reader can adopt either the position of the supposed speaker, the supposed addressee, or, can be positioned as an overhearer of the interaction. Mills incorporates an analysis of direct address by radio D.J.s into her model which shows the varying ways the audience is addressed as "you", sometimes meaning "everyone in Edinburgh", sometimes meaning an individual listener:

the audience is not uniformly implicated all in the same way the whole of the time...[W]hile the use of selectors has the effect of singling out sometimes quite specific addressees, the talk is always available for others than those directly named as addressees (Montgomery, in Mills, 1992:188).

Various sections of the audience are overhearing elements of the talk at various times: "as listeners we are made constantly aware of other (invisible) elements in the audience of which we form a part" (Montgomery, 1988, in Mills, 1992:188).

Mills suggests that gender may be a crucial element in determining "whether readers consider that they are being directly addressed or whether they are in a position of overhearing" (1992:188).

A parallel observation in the analysis of televised sport already exists. Whannel (1992) has similarly pointed to the complex use of 'shifters' in the characteristic address of televised sport's presenters, particularly their use of 'we' and 'our'. Sometimes 'we' means the presenter and the production team, counterposed by a 'you' indicating the audience, so that the relationship is one of donor/recipient. Sometimes, however, the use of 'we' places the presenter in the audience, allowing reference to 'our' shared experience, a crucial component of which is an unproblematic national identity.

In order to fully understand the process of textual address, however, Mills requires a concept of *indirect* address, which, because it is more difficult to locate, goes largely unnoticed by the reader. Indirect address, marked by a lack of mediation (a concept Mills derives from McCabe's work on realism) and "obviousness" (from Althusser and Barthes - statements which the reader is expected to regard as self-evidently true), leads the reader to the dominant reading of a text. However, texts are always over determined, and, as a result, "there are always other elements intermingled with the dominant reading" (1992:191) which lead to different, oppositional readings. So, although texts use such devices as gender-specific generics to send clear signals to the reader that the position that the text is offering them is male, women do not form a coherent group and thus will not all read in the same way. Mills takes the distinction between male-affiliated and female-affiliated women writers from Gilbert and Gubar (1988) to explain how someone might "take up the position allotted to the male reader of the text or whether...[she might] attempt to resist that position and formulate another position from which to read" (Mills, 1992:195).

This model might help explain the disproportionate appeal of televised sport to male and female viewers if the following questions are asked: who speaks? who does the text address? who overhears? how does the addressee recognise him or herself? what are the characteristics of the addressee?

If subjectivity is not biological, female viewers should be able to take up what seems likely to emerge as the masculine subject position offered by televised sport. Perhaps the reasons why they do not, or why some do but most do not, lie



in the text and can be elicited by analysis of the text of televised sport. Perhaps, however, they lie outside the text and consist in women's social experience of sport that they bring to their viewing of its televised form. Certainly, the problem of what has been seen as the universalising tendency of textual analysis are avoided by ethnographies of the audience which seek to elicit the ways in which their interpretations of a text may reflect the lack of shared cultural code between audience and producer. In this respect, ethnographies of female audiences have been most illuminating with regard to the audience's interpretations of 'feminine' media like soap opera and romance fiction. However, Hobson's (1996) study of housewives and the mass media found that the women in her sample rejected what they considered to be 'men's media':

There is an active choice of programmes which are understood to constitute the 'woman's world', coupled with a complete *rejection* of programmes which are presenting the 'man's world'. However, there is also an acceptance that the 'real' or 'man's world' is important, and the 'right' of their husbands to watch these programmes is respected: but it is not a world with which the women in this study wanted to concern themselves (307).

Although originally written in 1980, the persistence of a "two worlds" picture of gendered television use still emerges from statistical evidence, particularly with regard to the 'man's world' of televised sport (Cooper-Chen, 1994; Barnett, 1990). Women viewers' lack of desire to concern themselves with men's media would present a considerable problem for ethnographic work which aimed as much at uncovering the reasons why female viewers did not watch televised sport as well as why male viewers did. At the very worst, a refusal on the part of female viewers to engage with televised sport would succeed only in restating the original question - why do men and not women watch sport on television? The text of televised sport, however, remains a fruitful field of enquiry, and if Mills' (1992) model of audience-text interaction is adopted, with its acknowledgement of the possibility of multiple subjectivities among the audience, acceding that the audience is not all uniformly implicated in the same way, it is possible to perform textual analysis without conceiving of the audience as passive and undifferentiated. So while subjectivity is non-unitary and constantly in reproduction, the positions that the text of televised sport creates for the audience to occupy, remain consistently gendered, providing a point of identification for men, not women. Investigating the specificity of the subject positions

engendered by the text will then, enhance understanding of the accessibility of televised sport for male and female audiences and indicate what audience members may have invested in their continued identification with these gendered subject positions. The starting point of my investigation of gender in televised sport, therefore, will take the text of televised sport as constituting a meaning-generating system of which gender is a crucial component, and attempt an analysis of the text, informed, where possible, by contextual considerations. The results of my analysis may indicate the usefulness of an ethnography, but a great deal remains to be said about the text of televised sport. As a first step, then, the next chapter will take the form of a detailed review of previous literature pertaining to the subject of gender and media sport. Particular attention will be paid to the methods used by previous authors to analyse the text, with a view to developing an effective methodology for my own study.



## Chapter Two

# Approaches to the study of Gender and Televised Sport

This chapter provides a summary of research that has aimed to analyse the relationship between televised sport and gender. It describes research using content analysis, research on the audience of televised sport, theoretical comparisons between soap opera and sport, and interpretative approaches. Of these varied attempts to explore gendered representations in televised sport and their relationship to a gendered audience, strategies which aim to interpret the text and make links between discourses of gender, ethnicity, class and nationhood are considered most illuminating. On the basis of previous work, it is possible to begin to devise a methodology to elicit the gendered address of British televised sport. Semiotics is found to be an appropriate methodological tool.

### 2.1 Stereotypes and Sportswomen: Content Analysis of TV Sport

Van Zoonen (1994) suggests that a concern with stereotypes and socialisation is a major feature of much feminist work regarding the media. Certainly, many studies of the relationship between gender and media sport have been characterised by this approach. In Creedon's (1994) collection, *Women, Media and Sport*, Kane and Greendorfer provide an overview of literature relating to the media construction of stereotyped images of women in sport. Referring principally to North American literature, the authors consider there to be a general consensus that the sports media underrepresent and therefore symbolically annihilate sportswomen, and, specifically,

visual production techniques, language, terminology and commentary applied to women's sport are selectively imposed by the media to provide a highly stereotypical feminized view - one that tends to sexualize, commodify, trivialize and devalue, (through marginalization) women's sporting accomplishments (1994:36).

Analyses of the sports press in Europe (Former West Germany and Britain: Klein, 1988 and Hargreaves, 1994, respectively) and Australia (in Bryson, 1987)

have yielded similar results. Analysis of televised sport, however, has presented a greater challenge. While the static nature of magazine and newspaper articles lend themselves to in-depth analysis, television's transience makes analysis difficult. However, of work that has been carried out, the study of Los Angeles television by Duncan, Messner, Williams and Jensen (1994), sponsored by the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles, stands out in terms of breadth of coverage, volume of coverage and rigour of method. Interestingly, the report offers policy recommendations for future television coverage of men's and women's sport, which will be considered later.

In all, the Los Angeles study covered six weeks of an award winning sports news programme; the "Final Four" of the women's and men's 1989 NCAA basketball tournament (six games in all) and the last four days of the 1989 US Open tennis tournament. The sports broadcasts were videotaped and analysed using quantitative and qualitative techniques. Quantitative analysis involved the measurement of minutes devoted to men's and women's sport; the incidence of gender marking; strength and weakness descriptors; martial metaphors; power descriptors; types of naming of individual athletes; use of statistics, slow motion replays and on-screen graphics. Techniques for qualitative analysis were much more loosely described as involving a descriptive, textual method of analysis of the oral and visual framing of the events, which drew on a research assistant's graduate training in cinematography.

The analysis of news broadcasts found that women's sports were the subject of only 5% of all items, and where women did feature, they were shown, not as athletes, but as comedy features and sex objects. Differences in the quality of technical production emerged in analysis of men's and women's basketball, where production quality was seen to be much higher for men's basketball, and the opening sequence of the women's game lacked the drama of the men's opening. Instead, the opening of the women's game focused "in a sentimental way" (257) on the life histories of several players, with photographs "spanning from infancy through high school and college, interspersed with interviews with the players' mothers" (257). The researchers found that in women's basketball, gender marking was constantly in evidence by both graphics and commentary, so that the viewer was continuously reminded that they were watching the "best women's college basketball teams" (260), whereas "during the men's basketball games...no instances of gender marking, either verbal or graphic" (261) were observed. Women were regarded as being infantilised by being referred to as



"girls" or "young ladies", and by their first names with a frequency disproportionate with the men. In both tennis and basketball, men were very much more likely than women to be in receipt of attributions of strength, and strong descriptors women did receive were often framed ambivalently. Martial metaphors and power descriptors were used in discussing men's play in tennis twice as often as for women's play, and in basketball, three times as often. "For example, instead of one who "attacks" the hoop, a woman might "go to" the hoop" (264). Men were far less often framed as failures, their losses being seen to be due to the power, strength and intelligence of their opponents, rather than their own shortcomings.

Another example of the treatment of women athletes by American television, is Daddario's (1994) analysis of "CBS's packaging" (278) of the women's events at the 1992 Winter Olympic Games. Daddario, in contrast to the Los Angeles study, found that in certain events, the coverage women received paralleled that of the men, whereas in others, similar results to those of the Los Angeles' study were reported. Daddario videotaped women's events occurring at prime-time, only including male sports events that occurred within those parameters, which she used "referentially to examine CBS's portrayal of female athletes" (278). Noting that the sexual identity of luge, biathlon and ski athletes is not discernible through their uniforms and protective gear, Daddario (1994) found that:

descriptors applied to female athletes engaged in masculine sports tend to resemble descriptors applied to male athletes rather than descriptors applied to female athletes engaged in more feminine sports. For example, an athlete like Vreni Schneider is considered outstanding because she skis like the men, not because she is elegant or enchanting like the female ice skaters (280).

However, an interesting aspect of Daddario's (1994) study is her analysis of the way the commentary insisted on reducing female athletes to adolescent or prepubescent status. Although they were often in their mid to late twenties, athletes were referred to as children, with terms like "pixie", "kid sister", "little sister", "Tinkerbell", "girl next door". Daddario (1994) relates this to evidence pointing to the trend for females to drop out of sporting activities at puberty, when sports become sex specific, saying that "sport for females is an adolescent preserve" (282). Additionally, coverage was seen to reinforce the adolescent

status of female athletes by emphasising their familial roles, particularly as their mothers' daughters. Daddario (1994) suggests that:

The cultural rules of sport celebrate the strength, power, and raw physicality of the male body; this celebration sets up a natural hierarchy of gender in sport, where patriarchy dominates. When sport is approached as a battle for social control over the body, the female body is more easily controlled by patriarchy when it is restricted to sport that exhibits traditional feminine grace and "restrained eroticism" ... The female body is also easily controlled when it is reduced to adolescent stature or a prepubescent form (283-4).

It is worth noticing that Daddario's (1994) account of the winter games does, in this regard, correspond with the Los Angeles' account of the very different sport of basketball, where the opening sequence to the women's game featured the players as children, along with interviews with their mothers. Female athletes in both broadcasts were represented as not having yet grown up, their physical activity portrayed as an aspect of one familial relation (that of daughter) that will perhaps be replaced in adulthood by the other familial relation that is ever present, the mother. Certainly, the mother-daughter narrative appears to be an important part of the representation of female athletes in US television, and it will be worth considering if the same is true for British television.

Among the policy recommendations that the authors of the Los Angeles study suggest are implied by their findings, are: increased coverage of women's sport by sports news; and, a commitment on the behalf of television networks to more equal amounts of coverage of women's events. In the introduction to the study, De Frantz, President of the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles, articulates what she sees as the media's "professional responsibility":

Sport is an important part of the human experience. Television is a powerful medium. Women and girls comprise a majority of our population. Their experience in sport should be reported and reported accurately. Broadcasters who fail to do so fail in their professional responsibility (De Frantz, in Duncan, Messner, et. al, 1994:250).

Similar views are expressed by Kane and Greendorfer (1994) in their article, when they say that the mass media has an active role to play in the liberation of



women promised by their participation in sport by reflecting the "reality of women as athlete and not as caricature" (41). There are two major problems within this approach adopted by both sets of authors: the first is their conceptualisation of the role of the media, and the second is their conceptualisation of reality. I will deal with each in turn.

It is well known that there exists, in Barnett's (1990) term, a "gender gap" (101) in viewing preference for televised sport: more men than women enjoy watching sport on television. In contrast to Britain, however, where even the sports that women do take pleasure in viewing differ markedly from the sports preferred by men (Barnett, 1990: 101-2), there is "a great deal less antipathy among American women toward television sport than among British women" (Barnett, 1990:104). Although in the U.S., men and women have seven of their ten most preferred televised sports in common, however," 28% more men are interested in football and 9% more in basketball; conversely, 25% more women are interested in gymnastics and 15% more in swimming" (104).

Televised sport is, then, enjoyed by more men than women, and research like that performed by Becker and Creedon at Ohio State University (Creedon, 1994) suggests that both men and women prefer watching men's sport. This point is conceded by Duncan, Messner, et. al. (1994), as is the effect it is likely to have on the television networks:

Programming decisions clearly are circumscribed by market realities, and research does indicate that with few exceptions, men's athletic events draw more spectators than women's...(266)

If audience preferences for men's sport are accorded the status of "market realities" (266) which are seen, therefore, to legitimately "circumscribe" (266) media content, then it becomes difficult for the authors to make a case for increased, different coverage of women's sport, or at least one that will effect any change in programming. The authors' acceptance of the legitimacy of television as a market oriented phenomenon, then, leaves them at something of an impasse: market demands conflict with programme makers' "professional responsibility" (250). Their solution is to suggest that media content itself may have a role in the creation of market demand:

What comes first: public "disinterest" in televised women's athletics, or lack of quality coverage? Perhaps a more timely question now that women's sports are getting at least incrementally more coverage is: How do the ways that women's and men's sports are covered on television affect the "interest" of the public in these events? (266)

The suggestion offered by Duncan, Messner, et. al. (1994) is that the heightened quality of production of men's sporting events on television creates a feeling within the public that they "are privileged to be watching an exciting, dramatic spectacle which is of historic importance" (266). By contrast, the authors suggest that the sub-text of the poor quality of production of women's sport programmes "seems to be that the real event is tomorrow "up the road at the Dome"" (267).

Linked to this problematic conception of the role of the media is an equally problematic conception of reality. The tension between market considerations and ethical obligations on behalf of programme makers is evident in Kane and Greendorfer's (1994) complaints about the media's stereotyping of women athletes. These authors are at pains to marshal statistical data to show that the proportion of American media coverage given to women's sporting events compared to men's is less than the proportion of American women actually engaging in sporting activity. Their complaint is that the media "creates a false image of women's athleticism by denying the reality of the modern female athlete" (36). Yet, the authors' expectations that the media should or could neutrally relay all events, irrespective of market appeal, appears overly naive, particularly when considered together with their description of the media's coverage of Florence Griffith Joyner, which they equate with the social construction of a feminised athlete, ("FloJo"). This latter point would suggest that the authors believed the media to be constantly engaged in a reconceptualisation of reality, which, according to gatekeeping theory as recounted by Creedon (1994) would suggest to be inevitable. In this light, simplistic appeals to "reality" become untenable. Creedon (1994) describes gatekeeping theory as follows:

Nearly everyone involved in the news production process functions as a gatekeeper. In newspapers, for example, the primary news source (i.e., coach or athlete) selects, produces, transmits and shapes the information provided to the sports reporter who repeats the process and then passes the information on to an editor or several editors who repeat the process



again. But it doesn't end there. Advertisers, publishers, public relations practitioners and other opinion leaders can influence message selection, shaping, production and transmission. Geographical distribution and production processes also affect content. Sports news in USA Today, for example, will differ from that appearing in a local paper both in terms of general content and detail (17).

In this light, then, the possibility of neutrality appears illusory. As a result, the concerns of the sports analysts regarding stereotyping seem less consistent: in these accounts, the concern is with the way the women are represented, in contrast to the perceived neutrality of the media's portrayal of sportsmen. Gender, it seems, then, is an issue only for sportswomen, a set of values that the media add on to their identity as athletes, in a way that they do not do for men. Kane and Greendorfer's (1994) comments about Florence Griffith Joyner can be considered in this light. They maintain she was:

portrayed (and therefore socially constructed) as different from and other than her athletic male counterparts - primarily because the dominant media themes emphasized her femininity and sexuality, not her athleticism (30).

Athleticism is regarded by these authors as neutral with regard to gender, yet, later in their article they suggest that "the traditional definitions of "female" have been antithetical to traditional definitions of "athlete"" (1994:32). The athlete, and therefore, athleticism, is not a neutral concept after all, but one intimately associated with cultural conceptions of masculinity. To argue for a portrayal of an athlete which emphasises her "athleticism", is not, then, an argument for a neutral portrayal of reality, but one which suggests that a certain set of values be privileged, a set of values that still come very definitely gendered. The "distortion of reality" argument so common to critiques of women in the sports media, needs, therefore, to be approached with caution. Brunsdon makes a valuable point in her discussion of the problems inherent in any definition of reality:

For feminists to call for more realistic images of women is to engage in the struggle to define what is meant by "realistic", rather than to offer easily available "alternative" images. Arguing for more realistic images is

always an argument for the representation of "your" version of reality (in Van Zoonen, 1994:31).

Certainly, Kane and Greendorfer(1994) do appear to be offering the kind of alternative image Brunsdon describes when they say:

The modern sportswoman is anything but the cardboard, unidimensional individual constructed by the media. She represents a multiplicity of ethnic and racial backgrounds. She is actively participating in a variety of sports in numerous athletic settings (41)

And it is by means of this alternative that they see a role for the media "in this ongoing liberation that is empowering countless young girls and women in sport" (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994:41). Such an alternative corresponds undoubtedly to their version of reality, but this not a reality that can unproblematically be assumed to be available for everyone. Van Zoonen (1994) maintains the necessity of taking on board the poststructuralist conception of language as being constitutive of society and reality, so that expression of language in discourse becomes not only a means of reflecting reality, but the very source of reality as well. In contrast, the "obviousness" of reality remains unquestioned in the accounts offered by Kane and Greendorfer (1994) and Duncan, Messner, et. al. (1994), and the role of the media untheorised. It is within these areas that more work needs to be done.

## 2.2 Analysing Audiences

In the first of five chapters authored or co-authored by Creedon, in the collection she also edited, *Women, Media and Sport: Creating and Reflecting Gender Values* (1994), Creedon describes the aims of her academic engagement with sport. There are two recurrent themes, she says, emerging from the work of historians and sociologists of sport, "sport is an expression of the sociocultural system in which it occurs; and sports mirror rituals and values of the societies in which they are developed" (Creedon, 1994:3-4). Creedon intends both to expand this work to encompass the ways "the playing field...serves as a metaphor for gender values" (5) and to "look at the role of the media in constructing gender values through their sports coverage" (6). Creedon asserts that the media "preserve, transmit and create important cultural information" (6), suggesting



that journalistic norms contribute to this process, "privileging a patriarchal world view"(6).

In an attempt to cover the theoretical background to the study of gender and sport within the media, Creedon (1994) provides an overview of both feminist theory in relation to sport and effects theory in mass communication research. Creedon (1994) condenses feminist approaches to sport into two categories: the first wanting to reform sport, the second to transform sport. Both share a critique of the existing values of sport, but one believes that equal opportunities legislation is sufficient to amend the existing value system, whereas the other wants to change the values on which the system is based. Creedon (1994) deliberately chooses not to judge between these approaches, and suggests each can be effective in leading to "empowerment for women in sport" (8).

Next, Creedon (1994) describes three models of media effects theory, which, she says, have emerged over the years, and another she believes provides the solution to the problems existing in the others. The first she describes as the "All-Powerful Effects" model (9), as exemplified by the magic bullet/hypodermic needle theory which conceives of a passive audience unable to resist the power of the media message to shape their thoughts and behaviour. Evidence to suggest that other factors could influence mass communication effects comprises the second model, that of the media's "Limited Effects" (10). The essential change is described by Creedon (1994) as a shift towards a new conception of the audience as actively processing information. Her third model describes various attempts to refine this concept, grouped under an umbrella title of "Powerful but Contingent Effects" (10). Here, Creedon (1994) describes agenda setting theories, the knowledge gap hypothesis and the uses and gratifications approach, but suggests there are difficulties with all three attempts to generalise about media effects. Finally, Creedon offers a fourth model, which, she says builds on accumulative knowledge from the earlier models, integrating concerns with context, stemming from what she describes as "cultural and critical feminist theory" (12).

To illustrate an attempt to integrate context into effects theory, Creedon (1994) offers a description of a research programme carried out by Becker and herself at Ohio State University in 1985. Creedon (1994) describes the programme as an attempt to explore audience preferences for televised sports involving women, finding that survey results revealed that audiences perceived women's sports as inferior and less exciting than men's. Creedon (1994) also describes controlled

exposure experiments carried out with college students, who viewed, in the first experiment, either male or female volleyball, and in the second, either male or female basketball. Later experiments asked the students to view either women's figure skating or women's soccer, and in all cases, pre- and post-viewing questionnaires were completed.

What resulted from the experiments is described by Creedon (1994) as simply reconfirming what other researchers had reported. She says:

The first exposure experiment did not alter interest in or views about the inferiority of women's sports...whereas the second showed that those high in modelling motivation (e.g., those who were interested in learning specific skills by viewing competent athletes performing) were willing to learn from athletes regardless of sex and those high in spectating motivation preferred to watch men's sports...The third experiment provided evidence that forced exposure to female athletics that are not viewed by society as sex appropriate (i.e., women's soccer) stimulates negative response (14)

Although Creedon (1994) describes her initial intention as wanting "to conduct a stimulus-response experiment, test for possible intervening variables, and arrive at an understanding of audience behaviour" (15), she was unimpressed by the results of her experiment. Her response is to attempt to integrate contributions from feminist and cultural theory into her model. These contributions she considers to be, first, an understanding of the role of the media in perpetuating "assumptions about gender" (15), and second, the lack of homogeneity within any audience, whose responses to those assumptions will be contingent on "economic, political and social variables" (15). Creedon (1994) seems, therefore, to be responding to the paradigm shift that Van Zoonen (1994) describes as having occurred within communication studies - that is, the realisation of the need to take account of the ways in which audiences negotiate with the media text to create meaning. Creedon (1994) acknowledges problems with her six years of research, suggesting that it was marred by a simplistic understanding of gender as "given" and the use of "gross quantitative categories (i.e., male responses or female responses)" which "ignored or minimized within group variability" (15). Instead, she suggests that the media should be seen as having a role in the construction of gender identity, and uses Wolf's concept of the beauty myth as an example. Differences among women, on the grounds of class or



ethnicity, affect the ways they will respond to the media, but, she says, even those who "consciously reject the beauty myth must contend with it because it permeates media messages" (Creedon, 1994:15).

There are several things to be said about Creedon's attempt to add "gendered contexts to the formula (1994:16). As well as recognising "within group variability" (15), Creedon observes:

when we asked our respondents to compare men's and women's athletics, we prompted them to use an implicit frame of reference, that is, male sports as the norm. Other research has shown that because of the gendered context of this norm, women playing as well as men are perceived as aberrant and women playing differently than men as inferior. Measures of competitiveness and quality of play assume a male norm, so why not use alternative measures such as fun and enjoyment on the part of the athletes? Would such measures alter the viewer's perception? If these values were to become part of the institutional norm for professional sport, might this affect preferences for mediated sports in general? (1994:15)

To begin to see ways why such an "add-on" model might not work, it might be desirable to reframe the question after Nochlin's (1994) analysis of the "woman question" (94) in art. So, instead of "Why have there been no great women artists?", we could enquire, "Why have there been no great women sportspersons?" Nochlin, with regard to art, suggests there are several ways of answering such a question. First, there have been attempts to answer the question as it is put, and unearth examples of great women artists. Such attempts, she says, do nothing to question the assumptions behind the question. Secondly, critics have attempted to shift the ground slightly and suggest there is a different kind of greatness for women's art - a distinctive and recognisable feminine style. However, she observes, women artists from any given period have more in common with male artists from that period than with each other as a timeless group. Instead, attention needs to be paid to the concept of greatness itself, how the concepts of genius and masculinity have been bound together by historical and social practices. Learning from Nochlin's account of the problems with feminist art criticism, it is possible to analyse feminist responses to sport in the same terms. Creedon's (1994) attempt to shift the ground by suggesting a different sporting style for women, an alternative set of values that could be

"added-on" to the institution of sport, avoids the main issue: great sport and masculinity have a related cultural interdependence. Creedon starts her chapter with a series of definitions, sport is defined as a cultural institution, sports as activities that are only one component of that institution. It is the entire cultural institution of sport that needs to be investigated in relation to the construction of gender - both masculinity and femininity. It may not be enough to attempt to supplement the male norm with alternative "feminine" values: if fun and enjoyment on the part of the athlete were the principal criterion for the evaluation of the quality of play, then would that play still be sport?

**Figure 1: American Interest in Watching Sports, 1983: Male v Female ("always" or "usually" interested in watching)**

Male %		Female%	
1. Football	69	1. Gymnastics	46
2. Baseball	47	2. Football	41
3. Boxing	44	3. Baseball	41
4. Basketball	38	5. Swimming	36
6. Tennis	25	6. Basketball	29
7. Motor-racing	25	7. Horseracing	28
8. Gymnastics	21	8. Skiing	28
9. Swimming	21	9. Tennis	27
10. Weightlifting	21	10. Athletics	22

(Figures quoted in Barnett, S., 1990, originally derived from 1982 U.S. national survey sponsored by Miller Lite, conducted by telephone, of 1,100 adults, where the relevant question asked was, "I'm going to read you a list of sports. Please tell me how interested you are in watching each of the following.")

It is important to remember the specific character of America's televised sport audience, in contrast to Britain's. The figures quoted by Barnett (1990) do reveal gender difference in sport's audience, with nearly two thirds of men professing an interest in watching football, Barnett suggests the range of interest in sports is similar between men and women "from around a fifth to almost a half" (104) (see figure 1 above). Remembering the significant difference in the proportion of men and women who say they are interested in football, basketball, swimming and gymnastics, Barnett (1990) remarks that "something approaching parity is achieved by baseball, tennis and athletics" (104).



It is within the context of the American cultural specificity of gendered preferences for watching televised sport that research on the American audience for sport needs to be considered.

Gantz and Wenner have reported the results of research involving telephone interviews with adults relating to their televised sport viewing behaviour with reference both to fanship (1995) and to marital relationships (Gantz, Wenner, Carrico and Knorr, 1995). Within both reports, the authors have paid significant attention to gender issues. The fanship experience appears to be regarded as a valuable experience for Gantz and Wenner (1995), which is differentiated from non-fan sports spectating. Suggestions are made to the effect that sports fanship is therapeutic, and challenges hostile critics appraisal of television watching as a passive activity: "Compared to those in our sample classified as nonfans, fans were clearly more intense and enthusiastic, certainly not "couch potatoes" who passively watch one game after another, doing little but ingesting food along the way" (70). In terms of gender, the authors found no difference in the behaviour of male and female fans, which they see as significant:

This runs counter to prevailing wisdom and the "football widow" premise widely disseminated in the popular press. In general, fanship cuts across gender and the differing social expectations and constraints placed on males and females. Female fans feel and express the joys and frustrations that male fans experience (71).

However, the authors report that female non-fans stood alone as a group, being "truly disinterested in watching TV sports. They watched because their friends and family were watching; they watched because there was little else for them to do or watch" (71). Male non-fans, on the other hand, are reported as being less far from fanship than females. It is important to realise that the same criteria for inclusion as a fan were not applied for both genders - had it been, the authors say, fewer females would have been included as fans. What then, appears to be the purpose of Gantz and Wenner's research? It would appear that their concern is to rescue television sports viewing from any association that may be viewed as negative. Active, enthusiastic television watching is seen as beneficial, and, as characteristic of sports fanship, need not be considered available for men alone (that is, if allowances are made for women in their group membership criteria). The terms the authors use to describe the women who resist this positive force

seem, interestingly, critical of their lack of interest: "Rather than be eagerly anticipated and rehashed after the fact, the TV sports experience for them appears to be hollow, one that triggers little interest, one that fulfils few needs" (71). This apparent disappointment is offset by the authors' suggestion that similar fanship experiences might be enjoyed by viewers of other genres, soap opera fans, for example. Do the authors feel a need to legitimate the passionate watching of sport on television as a male dominated preserve by implying this "equal but different" approach to gendered genres?

Gantz, Wenner et. al. (1995) next turn their attention to the role of televised sports viewing among married couples. Responding to gender differences in TV sports viewing habits, which, they suggest, may be accounted for by the theory that media coverage of sport empowers men and demeans female athletes, Gantz, Wenner et al. (1995) express the concern that "televised sports may be more likely than other programme types to strain marital relationships" (309). In fact, the results of their research indicated the opposite, with viewing conflicts easily addressed and little hostility shown by viewers who did not share their spouse's enjoyment of TV sports. The authors say that they are surprised that "women are more likely than men to say that sports viewing plays a positive role in their marital relationship" (320), and follow with a series of speculations about the possible "empowering" effects of "yielding to and accommodating their spouse's interest" in what they suggest, with no obvious grounds, may be a kind of blackmail activity: "these women may feel that their husband is now in debt to them, a debt to be paid when deemed appropriate by the woman" (321). It is interesting to compare the rigour of these authors' delineation of their methods of statistical analysis with the looseness of their speculative reasoning later. In addition, their choice of sports to ask the interviewees about: football, baseball and basketball, becomes problematic in the light of the figures for viewing preferences reported by Barnett (1990) - different sports have different audiences. The study provides fairly neutral conclusions about the role of TV sport in marriage - it neither generally harms it nor generally provides a "rich and enriching shared experience" (322).

In that Gantz and Wenner (1995) and Gantz, Wenner et al. (1995) have attempted to provide some evidence as to the context of TV sports viewing, it is important to consider what their studies leave out. In the "marital relationship" study (1995), respondents who said they disliked the sports they were asked to consider, or sports in general, were not asked questions about their viewing



habits. Similarly, those who said their spouse disliked the sports, were not asked questions about their spouse's TV sports viewing behaviours. Within the "fanship" study (1995), the questions as to why female non-fans react the way they do is dismissed as a reflection "of underlying differences in interest, knowledge, and exposure to TV sports" (1995). Yet, perhaps the most vital of questions is why so many men feel addressed by sport when women do not - the experience of the non-fan is just as important as the fan. Rather, these studies describe the behaviour of TV sports fans once they are fans, and ignores the specifics of how a particular sport attracts them in the first place. A great deal is taken for granted regarding the appeal of televised sport - this "obviousness" needs to be handled carefully, particularly since it is not obvious for the majority of female viewers. Gantz and Wenner's suggested comparisons between sports viewing (which has a majority male audience) and soap opera viewing (with a majority female viewing), however, represents a particular line of enquiry into gender and television viewing that has been explored by Galperin (1988), with interesting results.

### 2.3 Gendered TV: Sport v Soap Opera

In his article, "Sliding off the Stereotype: Gender Difference in the Future of Television", Galperin (1988) notes the commonplace assumption that certain kinds of television are gender specific, sports being directed at a male audience, soaps at a female constituency. However, he is aware that an increasing number of women are being attracted to sports programmes, and an increasing number of men are attracted to soaps. Galperin's (1988) intention, then, is to correlate these still highly gendered genres with "the co-optation of women within the professional-managerial class; and the marginalization of men in the industrial working-class" (147), in a way which takes account of these recent changes in their respective audience constitutions.

Noting the very dramatic presentation of a baseball event by the sports television director, Harry Coyle, Galperin (1988) suggests that, while the director's main function is to relay the action, he has an "uncanny ability to "edit" the game in progress - an instinct for which camera angle will most vividly record what must be recorded" (151). In this, Galperin (1988) sees a comparison with the decidedly non-neutral filming of sports events provided by Leni Riedfenstahl. While Galperin (1988) does not suggest the director, Coyle, has a similarly propagandist role, he maintains that the occasional dramatic edit that Coyle

provides to heighten the tension of certain sporting moments similarly idealises the action. This kind of representation, he says, occurs frequently enough for it to characterise "men's television".

Galperin (1988) then considers the appeal to women of such "masculine" television forms. He suggests:

these occasional slidings from stereotype are not only representative of the power and authority sufficiently valorized in our culture to attract an otherwise uninterested viewership, and that they mystify the bourgeois enfranchisement to which women are increasingly gaining access in their roles as managers and executives, thereby attracting an even broader constituency than before (153).

The "feminine gaze" is, in fact, incorporated into the presentation of sports events, Galperin (1988) notes, with player's wives being shown at crucial moments as a point of identification for female viewers. In such ways, women are allowed access to the heroic, which he says characterises those rare dramatic moments in sports television when the athlete almost transcends his humanity. But, while such a superman stereotype exists in isolated moments in televised sport, Galperin (1988), suggests that the stereotype of the inherently worthy patriarch pervades soap opera. "Human, specifically male, authority is a virtual convention of women's television" (160), and is, therefore, "vulnerable thanks to its stereotypicality" (160). It is to be observed that the soap opera audience comprises "those who have generally benefited less from the discourse of patriarchy than those who watch sports" (159), and so, while soap operas may superficially be seen to defend the dominant culture,

the discourse of patriarchy is so pervasive, so continuous in soap opera as to become stereotypical. The more pervasive the stereotype, the more potential for stereotypes to turn on themselves (159)

Sport, by contrast, guards itself against any similar demystification of patriarchy, by "occasionally rising above itself" (160) where individuals can be seen performing feats of staggering difficulty which reinscribe a perception of masculine predominance. Galperin concludes then, that the two genres are really moving in opposite directions, "toward and away from exposing the arbitrariness of an essentially bourgeois, patriarchal hegemony" (1988:160).



To look more closely at Galperin's argument, it could be said that its strength lies in drawing attention to the importance of the location of male *characters* and their attributes within the *narrative* of, on the one hand, soap opera, and on the other, televised sport. The notion that sport, like soap opera, may have a narrative flies against common sense assumptions about the "reality" of sports broadcasts, as does Galperin's analysis of their construction at the hands of television directors. Yet, Galperin's arguments require an understanding of sport as drama, and therefore as narrated, in order for him to be able to conceive of the stereotyped male characters, which he says remain constant across the spectrum of male- and female- oriented television, as having a different place within the plots of sport and soap opera. Importantly, the principal characteristic of the pervasive masculine stereotype is heroism, confirmed in sport and denied in soap opera. And, if Galperin's central point is that the appeal of (American) televised sports depends on the extent of one's being "enfranchised" by the patriarchal, capitalist values which it represents, it is important to remember that he and the other theorists are talking specifically about the televising of American sports by American television. The specific character of American national identity will be inscribed into all these critiques. If an analysis of British televised sport were to incorporate these insights, then, attending to the interconnectedness of markers of national identity and masculinity in the construction of the hero within British sport's narrative would be vital in understanding its appeal to a gendered audience. Certainly, British televised sport has been found to contain "narratives" which conceal latent meanings. Whannel (1992) considers that,

Star performers are characters within a set of narratives, and this process in turn provides the basis for the articulation of ideological elements of individualism, competition, gender difference, ethnic difference, work and pressure, and family, regional and national belongingness (121).

For Whannel, sport's narratives create mythical sources of solidarity among its audience, obscuring their social divisions. Ultimately political, then, sport is, by contrast, continually presented as a "world of its own, separate and apart from the rest of the social world" (124) - a world where politics has no place. Whannel goes on to draw out the themes and oppositions in televised sport which serve to divide the social audience, and observes that, once artificially riven by gender, age, class and race, they are invited to unite around the imagined community of family and nation. Yet, although Whannel considers gender difference as one

example of the many discourses operative in televised sport's narrative, a closer look at the examples he gives all contain a gender dimension. The question of age is said to attach itself particularly to the identity of female competitors "like a barnacle" (125). Royal Ascot is cited as one of the few events that bring class into clear view, an event equally noted for the clarity of its gender discourse, with "Ladies' Day". The presence of a discourse of race within televised sport is illustrated by reference to a *Radio Times* cover (19/7/78) showing three black female athletes running through the Jamaican surf wearing bikinis. As an image of British athletes, Whannel suggests they are "doubly distanced" - they are presented neither in Britain nor in an athletic context. As a result, the picture represents a racialised example of the marginalisation of female athleticism. Whannel's examples of the narrative of work are similarly steeped in gender ideology and family themes centre on the association of female athletes and athletes' partners as wives and mothers. Whannel's (1992) work demonstrates not only that it is relevant to consider sport in terms of narrative, but that it is a narrative which is importantly gendered. Gender appears then, not as a discrete element in the televisualisation of sport, but as central to the disparate ideological themes around which sport's narrative is constructed. The intersection of gender discourses with other discourses will be, therefore, a major focus of this analysis.

The significance of the work of Whannel (1992) and Galperin (1988) is to reinforce the lack of neutrality in the television representation of the athlete: sport and masculinity as a television phenomenon are very definitely interconnected. Calls for female athletes to be represented just like the men, are, then, not calls for a neutral portrayal, but rather a masculine portrayal. There is, after all, nothing neutral about the overlaying of an image of a 200m. runner with competitors' statistics, excited commentary, advancing seconds of a digital clock, claustrophobic close-ups, replays, pre- and post-race analyses and clothing inscribed with identifiers of nation, number and commercial sponsor. That this point could be brought out further, it is useful to consider the filmic versions of physically active women exemplified by *Thelma and Louise*.

*Thelma and Louise* is a road movie, a typically masculine form, and one that represents the freedom of driving as a means to escape the, stereotypically feminine, domains of domesticity and the service industry. Willis (1993) suggests that the significance of cars in the movie should not be underplayed:



Our cars and the roads we drive on are one of the few arenas where it is acceptable, and even anodyne, to act out aggression. It is in the car, in the flow, or blockage of traffic that we feel safe performing a theatrics of contained aggression through gestures and speech that we wouldn't risk face-to-face, we posture and feign, car to car, as we jockey for position with other drivers ... In contemporary popular culture, I want to suggest, our viewing habits, like our driving habits, reflect destabilizing play with conventional mythologies of sexual difference, offer an arena of play and experiment with gender posturing, and this is where *Thelma and Louise* intersects with an array of contemporary representations ... (126-7)

The car, of course, is a central feature of televised sporting action, and one whose links with mystified masculinity cannot be overplayed. So, while not engaged in sport as such, the characters are engaged in a race, and their resulting bodily transformation is a central feature of the film. Willis (1993) describes this transformation as a radical change in the women's body language: their posture, gait and gesture, that is, the character of their physical presence in the world. Correspondingly, they exchange dressy clothes (which impede movement) to t-shirts and jeans. But, Willis, observes:

This dramatic transformation cannot be read, however, as a revelation of the "natural" body underneath the feminine masquerade of the housewife or service worker. Rather, the prominence of the bodily transformation sets the film in an associative chain of recent images of women clearly "reconstructed" on screen, like Sigourney Weaver's Ripley in *Aliens* (1987), and most recently and spectacularly, Linda Hamilton's Sarah Connor in *Terminator 2*. These revised embodiments of femininity stress the body's constructed character as costume, a costume that asks us to read it both as machine and masculinity (1993:127).

Willis (1993) goes on to make associations with the concept of "body as machine and masculinity" which embrace the consumer culture's obsession "managing and transforming the body" through exercise, where such exercise "inscribes the subject's will to mastery on the body, just as it inscribes the sexual difference that we continually restage in our private and public lives" (127-8). The bodily transformation of *Thelma and Louise*, Willis (1993) says, highlights the "doing" of gender identity, which is no longer what we simply are or possess, "but something we do as well" (128).

In this sense, then, physical activity of men and women as represented in televised sport is never a neutral portrayal, but involves the active construction of gender identity, which forms a significant part of sport's address to its gendered audience. The possibility of "decoding" such an address will, therefore, be an important step in the attempt to understand both TV sport's gendered appeal and the representation of women within the genre. Several theorists have attempted to use interpretative strategies to reveal the workings of gender within televised sport, and these I will turn to now.

## 2.4 Interpretative Strategies: Decoding Televised Sport

Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) are led to the use of interpretative strategies for the analysis of gender in televised sport because, they say, the research questions concerning the media's role in supporting male domination of team sports and certain individual sports have been, so far, inadequately answered. In response, Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) employ hermeneutics as a method of textual analysis for televised sport. Deriving from the work of Ricoeur, such a method allows for the notion of text as a paradigm for the objects of social scientific enquiry, and for text interpretation as the appropriate method for the human sciences. In this way, then, televised sporting events are considered to be texts for interpretation, and the hermeneutic's job, through the cultivation of a particular sensitivity to a text, is to uncover, often tacit, meanings in that text, "meanings that are shared and intersubjective because the sporting event takes place in a culture that itself consists of interpretations growing out of social interactions" (7). The texts chosen for study by the authors, are men's and women's basketball, men's and women's surfing, and the New York City Marathon, all of which, they suggest, are commonly considered to be masculine sports. Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) describe their expectations of the coverage to be biased towards male athletes. They expect to find suggestions that women are not suited to sport, that female athletes are weaker, inferior or physically or mentally incapable, and that the sport in which they are engaged is not a true sport but rather a pale substitute. However, they say that "we would not expect the commentary and visuals accompanying women's sports to be overtly and overwhelmingly derogatory. Any network that televises sports - sports of any kind - must operate from the principle of self-interest; that is, it recognises the need to present those competitions in the most exciting light so that viewers will stay tuned" (8). Again, such an appeal to "market realities" does, however,



confuse the issues - Duncan and Hasbrook do not question their use of such loaded terms as "exciting and attractive", and seem to imply that they somehow guard against sexist representations of sportswomen. But, the question is, to whom are sports programmes intended to be attractive? Is there anything inherently contradictory about the market appeal of "negative" images of sportswomen?

Nevertheless, Duncan and Hasbrook, imagine that their findings will correspond to an ambivalence in the commentary and visuals accompanying women's sports, that is, contradictory and conflicting messages, where "positive" portrayals of women are joined with subtly "negative" suggestions.

Duncan and Hasbrook's (1988) appraisal of each sport supported their initial expectations of ambivalence. Their analysis of women's basketball showed that the focus of commentary was individual players, not the team. Since basketball is a team game, this "denial of team" (9) was part of a symbolic denial of sport characteristic of the coverage of the women's game. As well as denying team, the authors suggest the commentary for women's basketball denied "game". While, the commentary for the men's basketball affirmed elements of physical skill, knowledge and strategy, this was lacking in the women's game, where the commentary instead focused on how "fun" it was to watch, how "pretty", and "beautiful" (10).

Yet, the authors point to the similarity between the visual depiction of the men's and women's games. They suggest that, because the events were live, there was little possibility for "constructing" the image in the way it is possible to do in "the production of a painting, photograph, or prerecorded, edited television program" (11). In this, Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) ignore the "construction" inherent in the sports conventions of camera angle and shot, and the real possibilities for live manipulation of them that Galperin (1988) suggests is characteristic of TV sports directors like Coyle. The conventions of the camera positions and the corresponding "construction" of a specific viewpoint within British televised football, are, as an example, discussed by Nowell-Smith (1981). In this light, Duncan and Hasbrook's (1988) contention that similar presentation of both men's and women's games equates with a lack of "construction", and is therefore neutral, needs to be questioned.

Televised surfing, however, provided the authors with prerecorded action, which they did consider to be visually constructed around an identifiable "way of seeing" (Berger, quoted in Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988:11). The surfing was shown as a montage, which featured a minute-long "photo essay" (12) to add "local color" (12). This sequence focused on women's bodies or body parts:

By focusing on these anatomical parts, the camera depicted women in primarily sexualized ways. Women were fragmented, reduced to faces, bikinied torsos, breasts, bottoms, thighs. In all three of these shots women were clearly spectators and were in passive positions, reclining, sitting, observing, or making minute adjustments to their hair, visors, sunglasses, bikinis. Of all 21 shots, only one showed a recognizably female surfer actually in the water, riding a wave (12).

The men, alternatively, were shown always in action.

Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) suggest that they found clear evidence of the ambivalence they expected to find in televised women's surfing. "The audio said that women are capable, strong, talented athletes who were participating in an exciting sport; the video said that women are passive, decorative objects who beautify a non-sport" (14).

The marathon was again a live event, but the authors found that the women's race was given quantitatively less coverage than the men's, which, they argue, again produced an ambivalence. The camera and commentary focused on the men's leader for his final two miles, for instance, while the women's leader was only shown for the last mile of the women's race. One female participant who was given a lot of coverage turned out to be a photographic model, of "Sports Illustrated swimsuit fame" (commentator quoted by Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988:17). The authors distinguish between what they perceive as macro and micro ambivalence in the marathon coverage: macro ambivalence referring the contradictory messages from the overall telecast, and micro ambivalence being associated with a particular commentator. In conclusion, then, Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) suggest that such ambivalence in televised sports coverage of women's events amounts to a symbolic denial of power to women within the sporting world.



Duncan and Hasbrook offer an approach to analysing televisual texts which is more sophisticated than content analysis, and one which importantly conceives of television as an audiovisual phenomenon. The most illuminating aspect of their analysis of each of these variants of communication in televised sport is their revelation that the sound track can contradict the visuals. Yet, the informality of their interpretative approach is unable to perceive the effects of construction in the visual dimension of television, which may, in accordance with the authors' theory of textual interpretation, simply be put down to their lack of cultivation of an adequate degree of visual sensitivity. A methodology which could help draw the critic's eye to relevant textual markers would appear a desirable addition to the interpretative approach, were a more meaningful outcome to the analysis to be envisaged. Duncan and Hasbrook's conclusion that televised women's sport was ambivalent makes no advance on their theoretical position at the commencement of their research. They claim only that their analysis confirms their hypothesis. Clearly, the gnawing question, *why* this ambivalence characterises the televising of women's sport, requires an answer, which Duncan and Hasbrook's research is unable to provide.

In contrast to Duncan and Hasbrook's (1988) study, a discussion of Australian Rules Football by Poynton and Hartley (1990) does pay attention to the aesthetic conventions of televised sport. They suggest that "the ingredients of televised footy could be itemised as follows" (150):

program title sequence

men in action

talking heads (all men)

statistical readouts

miscellaneous shots (the crowd, individuals)

embellishments (cheer squads, costumed mascots, pre-game and half-time displays) (150).

and "All this imagery is overlaid with a commanding commentary, the diegetic roar of the crowd and a robust passage of music to signal, like a siren, the program's outer limits" (150). Poynton and Hartley suggest that these conventions are what turns football into a "soap opera for men" (150). Using techniques from semiotics, the authors provide an analysis of the title sequence of the regular football show, *The Winners*, revealing a mythic construction of football "with its mass display of devotion, as a spiritual experience, inspiring

higher idealistic notions in which skill, change, struggles, goals and the altruistic victory of the game are universalised, and footy becomes a metaphor for life" (154). Poynton and Hartley (1990) also provide a discussion of the possibilities for female spectators to engage in resistant readings of the text. While the authors do not suggest that "television footy is designed for the gratification of voyeuristic women" (150) "feminine infiltration into relations of looking" means that the "visual element has the potential to be read erotically" (151). In addition to the possibility the game provides for an illicit eroticised female gaze, the authors suggest that discourses of nationhood and ethnicity can be detected in the representation of football. The authors suggest that the strong presence of aborigines in the game, with their associated indigenous status, is an emblem of the indigenous character of Australian Rules Football. Interestingly, Poynton and Hartley (1990) maintain that, while football guarantees players "all-Australian masculinity", those who extend into "promotion and profit" (156) activities unrelated to the game, to be given pop star packaging, have their masculinity neutered by the football commentators. The variety of discourses the authors find to be present within Australian Rules Football are described as "the simulacra of masculinity in an electronic culture" (157), and, they say, they are not reducible to a single maleness, but represent a power play of contending masculinities, where the odds are loaded against masculinity designed to appeal to a female audience, and All-Aboriginal football is seen not to be so much a matter of masculinity, but of race.

Poynton and Hartley (1990) raise interesting questions about gender within the sports media which have been largely ignored elsewhere. Gender, for them, is not one-sided, and the analysis of gendered representations within televised sport becomes one that includes masculinity, almost invisible in other accounts, but very evident in the televisual conventions deemed neutral elsewhere. Similarly, issues of nationalism and ethnicity are intimately bound up with masculinity in their account. Poynton and Hartley (1990) provide an indication of the kind questions that need to be asked if any meaningful account of the ways gender is encoded within televised sport is to be undertaken. Their method of analysis is semiotics, which in their hands becomes an interpretative strategy loosely used to decode the television text. It enables them to discuss image, graphics, sequence, sound effects and music, and it is their understanding of the simultaneity of these features which provides the evidence they need to suggest that football is "soap opera for men". No attempt to theorise their interpretative strategy is provided, but if Poynton and Hartley's work is an indication, a semiotic approach appears



most appropriate to elicit an understanding able to take account of the complexities of the relationship between gender, sport and television. In this respect it is useful to look at a final study by MacNeill (1994) which has, in a more formal way, attempted to use semiotics to analyse gender in a televised sports text.

MacNeill (1994) provides a semiotic analysis of televised aerobics and the Women's World Body Building Championships, in an attempt to question whether they provide progressive images of women, or whether they stereotype female activity. MacNeill (1994) notes that the trend towards the encouragement of physical activity for women has served interests other than those of the women themselves by, for example, reducing government health care costs and increasing productivity, as well as increasing the market for the fashion and fitness industry. MacNeill (1994) therefore regards as necessary a careful analysis of the way such activity is represented within the media. MacNeill (1994) limited her analysis to seven aspects of audio-visual communication: camera angles; framing of image; camera technique; body language; auditory signs; use of music; and, the commentary. Analysis of *20 Minute Workout*, and aerobics programme, provided her with evidence that aerial and upwardly tilting camera angles predominated, accentuating "cleavage" shots and creating "sexual images rather than images of power activity" (277). In contrast, direct camera angles characterised the body building competition on *SportsWeekend*. Similar contrasts were noted between the two shows, with the bodies of the aerobics instructors fragmented by close ups and medium shots which tended to centre on their hips, thighs and buttocks, emphasising sexual activity, whereas the bodybuilders' entire bodies were framed by long shots. Yet, the televisual emphasis on the "femininity" of the bodybuilders leads her to suggest that both aerobics and bodybuilding serve to produce and reproduce images of active women engaged in "feminine" activities. Theorising within the terms of hegemonic relations within sport, MacNeill explains that she sees these images functioning in support of patriarchy. She concludes,

For women to be active is an innovative and emergent notion in comparison to earlier periods. However, the alliance of physical activities with motifs of sexualized and feminized participation suggests that the liberating impulses are being reincorporated into residual/dominant hegemonic tendencies. The ideological politics surrounding the presentation of the female body in motion reinforces and

perpetuates the patriarchal subordination of women. Thus, patriarchy serves as a major structural determinant of these cultural forms as they develop in North America (285-6).

Female physical activity is considered by MacNeill as potentially politically progressive, and her interest in its televising is in its capacity to give meanings other than progressive to women's sport, enshrouding it in restrictive ideologies of feminine appropriateness. Her tools of analysis - semiotics - point her towards the specifics of meaning-laden televisualisation: camera shots; framing; sound effects; music, and her emphasis on method make the results of her analysis more meaningful than those of Duncan and Hasbrook, for example. Yet, again, there is an unspoken assumption concerning what might be said to constitute progressive televisual portrayals of women's sport, and the assumption is: that which correlates most closely with the portrayal of men's sport is politically most preferable. Poynton and Hartley's (1990) attention to the construction of masculinity (or masculinities) in televised sport, however, makes the simplicity of an approach like MacNeill's (1994), at best, questionable. If the televisual portrayal of sportswomen is considered part of the cultural (re)production of femininity, and the same is considered true with regard to the (re)production of masculinity in men's televised sport, a thorough analysis of each is entirely necessary before one of the two sets of conventions is to be regarded as self-evidently liberatory and the other as oppressive. The possibility of their interdependence, after all, is not to be ruled out, nor the importance of the way nationhood, ethnicity and class may be interwoven with gender in the televising of sport.

## 2.5 Conclusions: Towards an Analysis of the Gendered Address of British Television Sport

There is a general consensus within the literature relating to gender issues in televised sport: women's sport is neither shown as often as men's sport nor in the same way. Women's sport has been considered trivialised, marginalised and commodified by television broadcasts (Kane and Greendorfer, 1994), and while the majority of studies have been carried out in North America (Duncan, Messner, et al.), others (for example, Hargreaves, 1994) conducted in Europe and Australia yield similar results. Yet, little attempt has been made by these theorists to examine the operations of gender in men's televised sport, which has, by contrast, been deemed neutral in this regard. That this is not so has been



indicated by the work of theorists of popular culture (Galperin, 1988; Whannel, 1992; Willis, 1993). In addition, a concept of the media as legitimately market driven conflicts with these authors' calls for increased and different coverage of women's sport. Since both male and female audiences state preferences for men's sport, the ways in which the diverse range of televised sports broadcasts address that audience must be considered. In the light of this, the North American focus of the literature takes on increasing significance, the very specific character of British televised sport and its audience becoming important. It would appear that an understanding of the operations of gender in televised sport cannot be confined to an analysis of the ways in which the televising of women's sport differs from men's sport. More illuminating will be an analysis of the ways an address to its gendered audience can be seen to be inscribed in British televised sport in its entirety. Poynton and Hartley's (1994) have suggested that discourses of nationhood and ethnicity were intimately bound up with gender issues within televised Australian Rules Football. Similarly, the ways the gendered address of the diverse range of British televised sport might combine other forms of address, such as class, race or nationhood, must be examined. Techniques from semiotics will enable the elicitation of the direct and indirect address of British sport, and the next chapter will discuss theoretical and methodical issues relating to the application of semiotics to the television medium.

## Chapter Three

# A Semiotic Analysis of Televised Sport

Having established that a semiotic analysis promises to be most revealing with regard to eliciting the gendered address of televised sport, this chapter discusses the theoretical heritage of Saussure and Peirce for the semiotic study of the television text. It describes Barthes' (1993) development of Saussure's linguistics into a process of "mythology" to account for connotative meaning generation in popular cultural texts. Links are made to Seiter's (1992) adaptation of Metz's work, and five channels of signification in television are identified: image; graphics; voice; music; sound effects. Each of these channels is explored in relation to Berger's (1992) account of media analysis techniques and previous interpretative work on televised sport. An exploration of the significance of narrative in semiotic theory is followed by a discussion of how the narrative of televised sport might lend itself to consideration as a masculine media text. The strategies which will be used to overcome the methodological problems associated with the transience of television are presented in the final part of the chapter.

### 3.1 The Origins of Semiotics: Saussure and Peirce

Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and Charles Saunders Peirce (1839-1914), a Swiss linguist and American philosopher, respectively, are, in the words of Stam, Burgoyne and Flitterman-Lewis (1992:4), the "source thinkers" of semiotics (Peirce) or semiology (Saussure). Both theorists had their work published posthumously, in the form of lecture notes for Saussure, and as successive reworkings of his thesis for Peirce.

Saussure developed his ideas regarding meaning in language in response to the two dominant theoretical trends among his contemporary linguists (Lechte, 1994:149). The first was the rationalist approach of the Neogrammarians, for whom language was the mirror of thought, based on a universal logic. The second was an approach aiming to explain the current state of a language through its history, holding that Sanskrit was the oldest of all languages and the ultimate connecting link between them. Both approaches characterised language as a naming process, believing there to be an intrinsic link between a word and the thing it denotes. Discovering the earliest historical coincidence of a name and its



object was considered the way to reveal the reason as to why the object was so named (Lechte, 1994:149-50). Saussure broke with the concept of language as a simple nomenclature, eschewing the historical approach in favour of a consideration of the present configuration of a specific natural language. The theoretical implications of the Saussurean semiotic project have been summarised by Kaja Silverman in the following way:

language, and by extension any other object of semiotic inquiry, is a "system of signs that express ideas", a network of elements that signify only in relation to each other, a composite of two parts that signify not only through those features that make each of them slightly different from any other two parts, but through their association with each other (1983:6).

To expand, a sign, for Saussure, was comprised of two parts: the signifier and the signified, or the letters T-R-E-E and the concept "tree". The two parts are unmotivated or arbitrary, i.e., there is no inherent or direct relationship between the word and the object it designates, rather, the relationship is socially determined and consensual (Stam, Burgoyne and Flitterman-Lewis, 1992:2). Further, the identity of any given signifier or signified is established through ways in which it differs from all other signifiers and signifieds in the same system:

Concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with other terms of the system (Saussure, 1966:117, cited in Berger, 1991:7).

The meaning of a sign resides, not in what it is, but, rather, in what it could be and is not. However, symbols presented problems for Saussure, in that they do appear fully motivated, although Saussure stressed the conventionalisation of the relationship between the two terms. Nevertheless,

Signs that are wholly arbitrary realize better than the others the ideas of the semiological process (Saussure, 1966:68, cited in Silverman, 1983:8).

Signs enter into two types of relationship: paradigmatic (described by Saussure himself as "associative") and syntagmatic. A paradigm is a group of signs whose relationship to each other is one of similarity or comparability, while a syntagm

is a chain, a rule-governed combination of signs in a determined sequence. Within linguistics paradigmatic relationships can be illustrated by words which rhyme, have the same suffix or prefix (at the level of signifier) or by synonyms or antonyms (at the level of signified). A syntagmatic relationship can be seen within the rules governing the ordering of words in a sentence, or to move away from linguistics, in a series of shots in a film, garments of clothing worn together, or the combination of dishes in a meal. A paradigmatic operation is one of choosing, while a syntagmatic operation is one of combining: a diner may choose from a paradigm of first courses, then syntagmatically combine her starter with a main dish from a group of possible alternatives, along with a glass of wine chosen from the paradigmatic cluster of wines and beers. Seiter observes:

...in a given syntagm the individual signs are "united in absentia" with others of the paradigm that were not selected. The meaning of a given syntagm derives in part from the absence of other possible paradigmatic choices (1992:46).

Saussure makes a related distinction between *langue*, the abstract linguistic system that exists prior to any individual use of it in the collective memory of a culture, and *parole*, the individual utterances produced by a manipulation of the system, characterised by "accidental" features like intonation and style. Saussure privileged the study of *langue* over *parole*, because it made possible the study of "synchronic linguistics": "the logical and psychological relations that bind together coexisting terms and form a system in the collective mind of speakers" in favour of the historically oriented "diachronic linguistics": "relations that bind together successive terms not perceived by the collective mind but substituted for each other without forming a system" (Saussure, 1966:99-100, cited in Silverman, 1983:12).

Saussure paid no attention to the referent, and this marks the important distinction between his work and that of Charles Saunders Peirce. Peirce defined a sign as "something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity":

It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the interpretant of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its object. It stands for that object, not in all respects but in



reference to a sort of idea which I have sometimes called the ground...(Peirce, 1931, Vol. II:135, cited in Silverman, 1983:14).

Signification, for Peirce, then, involves a complex interaction between the three terms: the sign, its object and its interpretant. The interpretant is the "mental effect" or thought generated by the relation between the sign and its object, which Silverman (1983) suggests can be considered virtually synonymous with the signified. The interpretant is, therefore, another sign, the interpreter's conception of the original sign. Such a formulation gives rise, therefore, to unlimited semiosis, the process by which signs endlessly refer only to other signs, with meaning constantly deferred in an infinite series of signs.

The status of the real for Peirce is unclear: sometimes direct experience of reality appears a possibility, while at other times it seems reality can only be known through representations whose value is established through social convention (Silverman, 1983; Stam, Burgoyne, Flitterman-Lewis, 1992). However, Silverman (1983) concludes that for Peirce reality is only available to man (sic.) because man (sic.) is himself a sign, which she considers to be one of Peirce's most radical and important assertions:

...the word or sign which man uses is the man himself...the fact that every thought is a sign, taken in conjunction with the fact that life is a train of thought, proves that man is a sign...Thus any language is the sum total of myself; for the man is the thought (Peirce, 1931, Vol. V:189, cited in Silverman, 1983:18).

Along with the first triad of sign-object-interpretant, the Peircean semiotic scheme relies on another tripartite classification of the types of sign available to the human consciousness. This second triad and the ways the three types of sign - iconic, indexical and symbolic - signify, with examples, are represented in the following table (Figure 3.1). (An important observation is the opposite use of "symbol" by Saussure and Peirce: for Saussure a symbol was a motivated sign, whereas for Peirce a symbol is unmotivated, purely conventional).

	Icon	Index	Symbol
signify by	resemblance	causal connections	conventions
examples	photographs, paintings, cinematic images, algebraic equations, graphs	smoke/fire, symptom, disease, weathervane, pointing hand	words, numbers, flags
process	can see	can figure out	must learn

**Figure 3.1 Peirce's Three Aspects of Sign (adapted from Berger, 1993:5).**

Silverman (1983) remarks on the greater flexibility of Peirce's signifying triad over Saussure, and a keener sense of their overlapping functions, suggesting that the richest signs combine iconic, indexical and symbolic elements.

Peirce's three types of sign allow the semiotic domain to extend far beyond linguistic signification, mostly based on convention, to, for example, film, where the signifiers of photography, editing, camera movement, lighting and sound are characterised by a preponderance of indexical or iconic properties. Silverman (1983) observes that, while every cinematic image is iconic, each image is also (indirectly) indexical since it is produced by exposing film stock to light. Importantly, however, she maintains that,

signifiers of all sorts, even the most iconic or indexical can either become conventionalized, and so provide a base for the accretion of additional meaning, or depend on convention from the outset. For example, a particular system of lighting which characterizes Hollywood films from the 1930s and 1940s, where illumination is used to accentuate the female face. The standardization of this effect permits it to signify more than "look here" to suggest such values as "star" and "ideal female beauty" (Silverman, 1983:23).

And, as convention has always been important in iconic signification (the history of perspective, Impressionist painting, narrative norms, algebraic equations), she goes on, we need to be schooled in certain systems of representation, before certain signifiers will reveal their iconicity to us. Road signs, for example, which mean nothing to the uninitiated, require us to have "collateral acquaintance" with not only object but signifier.



Mills' (1992) analysis of the direct and indirect address of a given text was influenced by the work of Barthes. Barthes can be considered to have been greatly responsible for extending the range of texts and practices available for semiotic analysis. His contribution to semiotics will be discussed next.

3.2 Connotation-Denotation and the Semiotics of the Television Medium

In "Myth Today", Barthes (1993) describes a second-order signifying system which he refers to as "myth": a kind of message found not just in oral speech, but in, amongst other things, photography, cinema and sport. Mythology, then, is the means to understand these messages, and is, a part "both of semiology inasmuch as it is a formal science, and of ideology inasmuch as it is an historical science it studies ideas-in-form" (112). In myth, two semiological systems operate, language itself, whether it be cinema, written discourse or photography, which are all equivalent as signs, and the metalanguage of myth, in which the semiologist is able to speak about the first. The final term of the first semiological system, what is signified in language, becomes the first term in the metalanguage of myth, the mythical signifier. This system Barthes describes as a diagram:

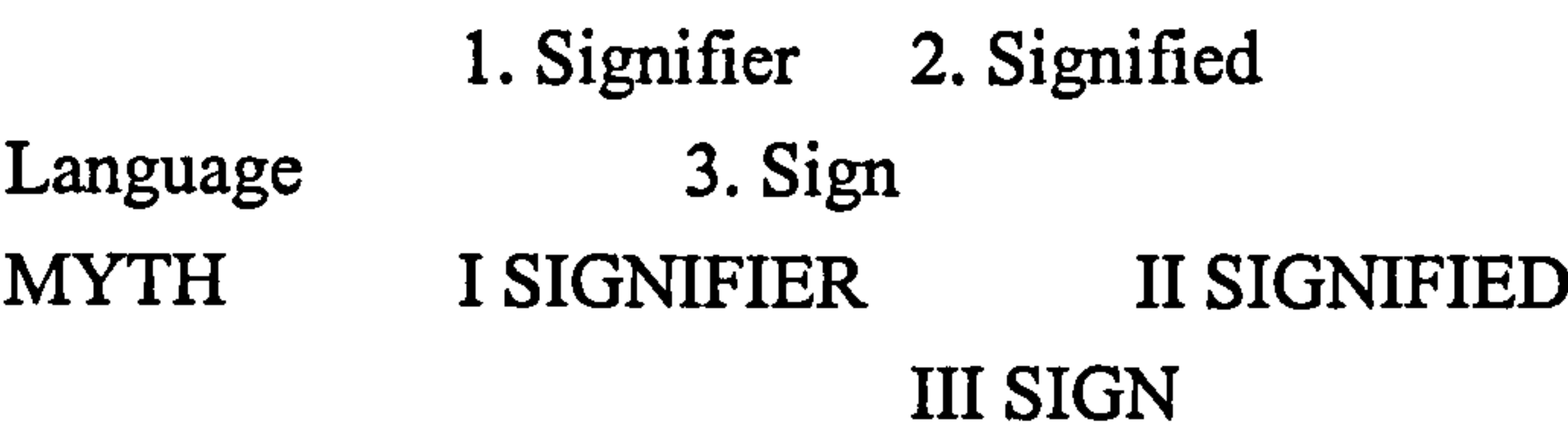


Figure 3.2 Barthes second-order semiological system (from Barthes, 1993:115)

By way of illustration, Barthes refers to the photograph of a smiling Negro soldier saluting the French flag on the cover of an issue of Paris-Match (the form of the myth: the sign at the first level), whose mythical significance at the second level is "harmony in the empire". The effectiveness of myth is that its message

does not need to be deciphered, interpreted, or demystified...to read a picture as a (transparent) symbol is to renounce its reality as a picture; if the ideology of myth is obvious, then it does not work as myth. On the

contrary for the myth to work as myth it must seem entirely natural (Lechte, 1994:124).

There is a difference, then, between what a sign denotes and what it connotes. Connotation fixes and thereby impoverishes the meaning of the denotation by ascribing a single, usually ideological, signified to it. Seiter, in her article, "Semiotics, structuralism and television", suggests that:

one of the goals of semiotic analysis of television is to make us conscious of the use of connotation on television, so that we realise how much of what appears naturally meaningful on TV is actually historical, changeable, and culturally specific (1992:41).

Her examples are the colour of light on television (pink for femaleness, white for goodness); music (minor chords and slow tempos signifying melancholy, solo instruments signifying loneliness); or photographic technique (soft focus signifying romance, handheld cameras signifying on-the-spot documentary).

In attempting to apply semiotics specifically to television, Seiter (1992) adapts the work of Christian Metz, originally developed in response to film. While semiotic approaches ordinarily tend to break down complex significations into their smallest unit of meaning (for example, the phoneme in linguistics), television confounds attempts to discern "discrete elements or building blocks of meaning" (Seiter 1992: 42-3). Seiter considers taking a "frame", the complete scanning cycle of the electronic beam, which occurs every 1/30th second, to be the equivalent of television's smallest unit, but rejects the idea since it fails to include the speech, sound effects and music which may be occurring simultaneously and whose meaningfulness cannot be neglected. Instead, Seiter adapts Metz's identification of five channels of communication for cinema: image, written language, voice, music and sound effects. She substitutes graphics for written materials so as to include logos, borders, frames, diagrams and computer-animated images, which, she says, are far more prevalent on television rather than film.

Seiter's approach echoes Williams' (1974) insistence on the importance of "flow" for understanding the complex operations of meaning in television. Describing the specificity of the television form, Williams suggested that the characteristic experience of watching television, in contrast to the experience engendered by



more traditional cultural forms, was one of flow. Criticising television reviewers for their focus on individual programme items, as if they could be separated from the experience of an evening's viewing, Williams complained that:

it is not only that many particular items - given our ordinary organisation of response, memory and persistence of attitude and mood - are affected by those preceding and those following them ... it is also that though useful things may be said about all the separable items ... hardly anything is ever said about the characteristic experience of the flow itself (1974:96).

A further important and related concept is intertextuality. Derived from the work of the literary theorist, Bakhtin, which was taken up and developed by Kristeva and Barthes, intertextuality references the way texts constantly refer to other texts, creating a complex structure of interrelationships so that the full significance of words, images, narratives in a text can only be understood in relation to the host of associations with other similar instances of their occurrence which they evoke. This generation of meaning does not rely on the intentions of a text's originators, but rather "the process in which elements of discourse communicate specific meanings to audiences by implicit reference to other, familiar discourses, themes, genres or media, which may also be present in or implied by the context of reception" (Jenson, 1995:120). Tracing the intertextual evocations of meaning in televised sport will be central part of the thesis, illuminating the complexity of televised sport's address to its audience.

Following Seiter (1992), then, it is possible to explore further how each channel of communication might figure in the signifying process.

### 1) Image

According to Seiter (1992:45), Metz concluded that it was not possible to discern the smallest unit in cinema, suggesting instead that film should be analysed at the level of the shot, its largest minimum segment. As such, semiotic analysis is able to recognise the interrelationship of sound and image in the process of signification in film and television. Yet, the concept of shot is heavily reliant on its visual dimension. To this extent it has been possible for Berger (1992) to develop an initial grid of the possible significance of various camera shots and editing techniques, which is reproduced below:

**Camera Shots**

<b>Signifier (Shot)</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Signified (Meaning)</b>
close-up	face only	intimacy
medium shot	most of body	personal relationship
long shot	setting and characters	context, scope, public distance
full shot	full body of person	social relationship

**Camera and Editing Techniques**

<b>Signifier</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Signified (Meaning)</b>
pan down	camera looks down	power, authority
pan up	camera looks up	smallness, weakness
zoom in	camera moves in	observation, focus
fade in	image appears on blank screen	beginning
fade out	screen goes blank	ending
cut	switch from one	simultaneity,
excitement		
wipe	image to another image wiped off screen	imposed conclusion

**Figure 3.3 (from Berger, 1992:26-7)**

It is, of course, not advisable to apply linguistic terms directly to a medium so different from natural language as television, and Berger's use of the phrase "grammar of television" (1992:27) to describe Figure 3.3 is problematic. The television image is a complex text, with potentially limitless combinations of signs which refuse the predictability of a grammar. Berger's suggestions for decoding possibilities can be thought of as a starting point: the significance of the shots, camera work and editing techniques used in television sport warrant much consideration, along with other sources of signification present in the image. In this respect, lighting, colour, clothing, composition, replays (slow motion or otherwise) are all factors to be considered as imagery in sports television.

**2) Graphics**

Discussing television's heavy use of graphics, Seiter remarks:

Diagrams are superimposed over news or sports images to invite a quasi-scientific scrutiny of the image. Borders and frames mask out the background of already pared-down images. Words constantly appear on



the screen to identify the program, sponsoring corporation, the network or cable station, the product name, the person portrayed (1992:44).

She goes on to comment that words and graphics are particularly important in certain television genres, naming commercials, sporting events, news programmes, and game shows (1992:44). It is undeniable that the use of graphics in television sport warrants careful attention: credits, scores, performance information, statistics, diagrams, logos, computer animated images, all feature in sports programmes, and in some, like motor racing, are omnipresent.

### **3) Voice**

It has been argued that the medium of television is dominated by its soundtrack: "The sound serves as a value laden editing function, identifying better than the image itself the parts of the image that are sufficiently spectacular to merit closer attention by the intermittent viewer" (Altman cited in Seiter, 1992:44-5). Certainly, the commentary within televised sporting events would seem to serve this function, luring the pre-occupied viewer back to the screen. However, the relative importance of the voice within sports television, as opposed to drama, is worth considering: sport can be watched with the sound turned off with little loss of comprehension, and rather than preceding the images to which they refer, as Altman suggests is often the case with aspects of the soundtrack, commentary and studio discussion often follow the broadcast image. Yet, in studies of televised sport, the words of the commentators are often given most attention (Duncan and Hasbrook, 1988). Certainly, the voices of the commentators and presenters could be said to close down the number of possible meanings the image may have, or attempt to do so. Sometimes, the voices of the players and audience members can insinuate themselves into the sports programme as well, further closing off possible meaning.

### **4) Music**

Although comparatively neglected as an area of semiotic enquiry, music is of vital importance to televised sport, heralding the start of the programme or event, creating atmosphere and indicating a programme's content. On BBC Sport, different sports have different theme tunes, and so the tone set by the music is indicative of the cultural values specific to a given sport.

## 5) Sound Effects

Within sport, the incidental sounds occurring as a result of the game being played - the sound of a tennis ball bouncing, a car engine roaring - can be considered as sound effects, and their presence within opening theme tunes indicates their significance within the overall meaningfulness of the television sports text.

## 3.3 Narrative and Genre: Syntagms and Paradigms on TV

As well as suggesting that semiotic analysis of television should be carried out according to the five channels of communication, Seiter (1992) offers illustrations of possible syntagmatic and paradigmatic investigations. Subject-to-camera distance could form the basis of one paradigmatic category, she suggests, along with "all shots of Bill Cosby" (47):

Many television programs are produced inside a studio, with three cameras filming the action at once. The director calls the shots, speaking to the camera operators through headsets and asking for specific shots that may be used next: a close-up, a two-shot, a long shot. Thus the paradigm during taping consists of all the shots available from cameras one, two and three; the syntagm consists of the sequence of shots actually selected, "switched" in the control room in a definite order (only one at a time) and lasting for a specific period of time. In short, every television program consists of a set of paradigmatic and syntagmatic choices (Seiter, 1992:47).

The existence of generic paradigms, like "TV game shows" or "Soap Operas", where the grouping together of specific television programme types is often justified by their internal syntagmatic arrangement of characters and events (or place in the schedule or broadcasting history), leads to a consideration of narrative. Narrative can be thought of as the "recounting of two or more events (or a situation and an event) that are logically connected, occur over time, and are linked by a consistent subject into a whole" (Stam, Burgoyne and Flitterman-Lewis, 1992:69). Narrative is a kind of knowledge, derived from the Latin *gnarus* or "knowing", it is a way of making sense of events. Narrative does not "simply mirror what happens; it explores and devises what can happen. It does not merely recount changes of state, it constitutes and interprets them as signifying parts of signifying wholes" (Prince, 1987:P60, cited in Stam et al., 1992:70). Regarded in



this way, narrative analysis of cultural texts can contribute to the illumination of value in specific cultures. Lévi-Strauss' Saussure-inspired anthropology and Propp's analysis of the Russian Wondertale have, in this way, provided a background to contemporary cultural readings of film genres, like the Western. Propp's work produced a morphology of the folktale: "a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole" (Propp, 1968:19, cited in Berger, 1991:13). Propp developed a concept of "function", understood as the act of a character considered from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action. There were found to be thirty-one functions in the folktale, whose sequence was always identical, and his conclusion was that the "functions of characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of the tale" (Berger, 1992:14). In sum, the seven *dramatis personae* in the Wondertale (including Hero, Villain, Princess-and-father, False Hero, Donor, Helper, Dispatcher) are involved in combinations of various functions, like the Hero leaving home, receiving magical powers, and liquidating his initial misfortune or lack. In this way the surface structure of the tale was of importance to Propp. Lévi-Strauss' study of the indigenous myths of North and South America, by contrast relegated plot in favour of message. What happened in a myth - its manifest meaning - was less important than its latent meaning - what it was about. An approach to the study of popular filmic genres informed by Lévi-Strauss is provided by Wright and Kitses' work on the Western. Wright's *Sixguns and Society* suggests that the Western transmits a clear set of values to society that may be detected in the patterns of oppositions which form the semantic universe of the Western, e.g. wilderness/civilisation; inside/outside; strong/weak (Stam, et al., 1992:77). In *Horizons West*, Kitses proposes that the central antimony of the West as both garden and desert sets up a number of oppositions, like individual vs. community, nature vs. culture, with variations on the theme indicating the work of various auteurs.

The importance of narrative and the hero for Galperin's (1988) discussion of the address of televised sport was demonstrated in Chapter Two, and the Proppian legacy could prove significant in understanding sport as a masculine genre.

One approach to the study of narrative in popular cultural texts which may be illuminating is represented by Berger's account of formula as the defining characteristic of genre. In *Popular Culture Genres*, Berger begins by grouping

television genres into four types: actualities (news, documentaries); contests (sports and game shows); persuasions (adverts) and dramas (soap opera, situation comedies). These programme types he places on an "objective-emotive polarity" (1992:7), so that "sports programs are classified as contests and are high under objective (because they actually exist) and strong under emotive, in that they generate a great deal of excitement in viewers) (7). Moving on from this approach to the consideration of a genre's appeal, Berger focuses on narrative, suggesting that narrative has changed little over the centuries, being intrinsically about heroes, heroines, conflict and magic powers. Discussing Cawelti's assertion that "the culturally significant phenomenon is not the individual work, but the formula or recipe by which more or less anonymous producers turn out individual novels or films" (Cawelti, cited in Berger, 1992:30), Berger states:

I would suggest we use the term genre to cover the various kinds of texts that Cawelti sees as formulaic - westerns, spy stories, detective stories, and so forth and understand formulas to involve the various conventions found in various genres and subgenres (Berger, 1992:30).

Using the Western as an illustration, Berger recounts the aspects of texts he considers formulaic:

**Time:** events in specific genres take place at a certain time, e.g. Westerns take place at the turn of the century;

**Location:** they take place in a certain place: Westerns take place on the edge of the frontier;

**Heroes:** they have certain kinds of heroes, e.g. cowboys;

**Heroines:** in Westerns, the heroines are school marmes and bar hostesses;

**Villains:** in Westerns, they can be the corrupt sheriff, the psychotic killer, the criminal banker;

**Secondary Characters:** they tend to have certain needs: the townsfolk may be too weak to resist the criminal elements that are attacking them;

**Plots:** these vary from genre to genre: in Westerns, they usually involves actions that restore law and order - gunfights, chases;

**Themes:** the theme of the Western usually involves justice;

**Costume:** in the Western, the characters wear cowboy hats and boots;

**Locomotion:** the horse is the dominant form in the Western;

**Weaponry:** the six-gun (Berger, 1992).



If, for Berger, drama accounts for only one of the four types of television genre, it might seem lacking that his formulaic approach to genre analysis appears to neglect genres like news and sport, particularly since he observes that "classifications have to have two qualities if they are to be useful: they must be exhaustive (covering everything) and all categories have to be mutually exclusive" (Berger, 1992:45). Yet, as will be shown later, it does appear to be relatively easy to relate Berger's formulaic features to individual televised sports programmes or events. To return to the definition of narrative as a way of knowing "of coming to grips with the meaning of events" (Stam et al., 1992:70), it could be argued that the effect of television is a construction of a way of knowing sport, an imposition of a narrative structure on sports events, in which sport itself narrates physical activity within culture. That televised sport does correspond to a dramatic formula indicates that television can in no way be said to neutrally relay the sports event, and use of the term "objective" in relation to televised sport (including Berger's) must necessarily be guarded.

If genre is to be a useful construct in analysing sport, a consideration of ways Berger's formulaic features might be said to unite all of the sports shown as part of television's "world of sport" is necessary. Certainly, while all sports can be said to require specific costumes and modes of locomotion, these are by no means all the same ones. It may be that relatively minor differences at this level may be insignificant once core common features are identified, or it may happen that the concept of a single sports genre may have to be reconsidered. This does, at least, provide another entry point for an analysis of television sport.

That the concept of genre has been considered a gendered phenomenon has been established. The specific features of a given genre that attract a gendered audience have, however, been a source of debate, and a debate that has focused largely on those genres, soap opera and romance, that have been considered "feminine narratives". Discussion of the features of sport that address its highly gendered audience, has been comparatively neglected, but, of those authors that have approached the subject, Fiske's (1987) is the most detailed.

### 3. 4 Men and Soap

In an attempt to analyse the specific features that account for the marked gendered appeal of certain popular cultural texts (soap opera, romance novels, women's magazines and local news programmes for women, action series,

national news programmes and sport for men), Fiske (1987) refers to Brown (1987) for what she considers the eight generic characteristics of soap opera. Soap opera has:

1. serial form which resists narrative closure;
2. multiple character and plots;
3. use of time which parallels actual time and implies that the action continues to take place whether we watch it or not;
4. abrupt segmentation between parts;
5. emphasis on dialogue, problem solving, and intimate conversation;
6. male characters who are "sensitive men";
7. female characters who are often professional and otherwise powerful in the world outside the home;
8. the home, or some other place which functions as the home, as the setting for the show (Fiske, 1987:179).

If this is what characterises soap opera as a "feminine" text, then, Fiske maintains, "masculine" media texts will provide the opposite stylistic devices to those described by Brown. Fiske (1987) uses the action series, *The A-Team* to illustrate his theory:

1. The A-Team's narrative is closed in each episode;
2. The emphasis is on action and dialogue is minimal;
3. There is a single plot, or clearly defined hierarchy of main and subplots, and a single hero or tightly knit hero pair or hero team;
4. Time does not correspond to actual time, but is compressed to "speed through non-action scenes [and] it is extended by slow motion to dwell on those of action/performance" (219);
5. Segmentation follows laws of cause and effect rather than rapid switching from plot to plot;
6. Women characters are not powerful, but victims;
7. Men are not sensitive, but powerful;
8. The setting is public not domestic.

While Fiske acknowledges that not all television is "gendered along such clear genre lines" (*Hill Street Blues*, he says, has masculine and feminine narrative characteristics), and it is for clarity's sake that he has couched his argument in "overly simple binary oppositions" (1987:218), Fiske's discussion is almost



entirely confined to drama. In fact, the exceptions to his rules (like Hill Street Blues) would indicate that drama, action series notwithstanding, may be the least "masculine" of "masculine" texts. Earlier it was suggested that, since sport is the only television programme type that, globally, draws more male viewers than female, an investigation into its gendered appeal would yield greater understanding than the study of other texts considered masculine but still attracting a majority female audience. Fiske (1987) mentions sport only once in the context of "masculine" media texts:

Slow motion is used in sport to celebrate and display the male body in action, to produce a sense of awe by making the physical performance appear beautiful. The male body in television sport does not consist merely of brutish muscularity, but is aestheticized and thus given positive ideological values (Fiske, 1987:219).

The complexity of televised sport, with its consistent gendered appeal, requires a much deeper analysis. Particularly, if sport is considered to be, uncomplicatedly, a 'masculine' media text, then the position of "feminine appropriate" (Hargreaves, 1994) sports such as tennis, swimming and gymnastics within this schema needs to be questioned.

With the intention of exploring the extent to which the semiotic approach I have outlined would be successful with the analysis of sport as a gendered genre, a preliminary analysis of a tennis match broadcast as part of BBC Sport's Wimbledon fortnight, 1995, was conducted. What follows is an account of the methodological concerns raised by such an analysis.

### 3.5 Exploring methodologies

Van Zoonen (1994) points out that, "despite the systematic nature of the semiotic approach, there is no clear methodology of semiotics as there is with content analysis" (78). However, Seiter's (1992) identification of the five channels of communication operating within television is clearly a point from which to begin to devise a methodology. Connotative, mythic or ideological codes, and subsequently audience address, are all aspects of a second-order signifying system, in Barthes' terms. Thus, it is only possible to identify by understanding the sign as the first term in "the greater system which it builds and of which it is only a part" (1993:115), so that "the associative total of a concept and an image"

(114) in the first system becomes only a signifier in the second. In order to carry out a second-order analysis, then, it will be necessary to identify what could be considered the signs or first terms within the signifying system of televised sport. The signs, which will be considered signifiers in the second system, will, incorporating Seiter's contribution, be found within five channels, namely, graphics; image; voice; sound effects and music, and any analysis must begin by establishing what these initial terms, within a given text, are - itself a semiotic analysis. Within Mills' model of textual address, this process corresponds with the isolation of the textual markers by which readers recognise themselves as subjects or overhearers of the direct and indirect address of the text. The selection of the text(s) for this first order analysis requires some consideration, since the eventual analysis of the chosen texts is intended as an aid to understanding the system of televised sport as a whole. In that all televised sports texts can be said to be part of such a system, a process of random selection is not unacceptable, yet to maximise the application of the results of the analysis to the question of gendered address, it would seem useful to consider the statistical evidence of the appeal of certain sports text to male and female audiences. Figure 3.4 gives an indication of the relative popularity of certain sports with a gendered audience.

Male		Female	
	%		%
1. Snooker	51	1. Skating	36
2. Football	47	2. Snooker	35
3. Boxing	44	3. Tennis	31
4. Athletics	44	4. Athletics	30
5. Cricket	36	5. Show jumping	24
6. Motor-racing	36	6. Skiing	22
7. Golf	31	7. Darts	19
8. Darts	29	8. Swimming	17
9. Rugby Union	29	9. Bowls	15
10. Tennis	28	10. Golf	15

**Figure 3.4: Sports most enjoyed on TV, 1989. (Data supplied by TGI, collected by British Market Research Group, cited in Barnett, 1990:103).**

While sport appears generally far more popular with a male audience, tennis stands out as one sport which similar percentages of men and women name as a sport they would like to watch if it is shown. Yet, tennis remains relatively unpopular with a male audience, ranked, as it is, tenth in popularity, while with a female audience it appears as the third most popular televised sport. This



interesting position occupied by tennis, then, leads me to consider that it may be fruitful as a text for analysis. The appeal of football, by contrast, appears heavily one-sided from these figures. If the newspapers are to be believed, (Rowbottom, 1995:22), there has been a recent surge in its popularity among a non-traditional viewing public, including women. which is not represented here. Nevertheless football, as the national game, and one that traditionally has had its following among working-class men, to the exclusion of women, makes it eminently worthy of an analysis that aims at elucidating a masculine address which takes account of the specificity of class and nation. Tennis and football, as televised sports texts which could be said to be highly gendered, are those I have selected for a sustained analysis which will form the body of this thesis. I anticipate that the results of this detailed analysis will illuminate the way televised sport more generally might be said to construct and respond to a gendered audience. Further sports will, therefore, be considered in the light of conclusions from my initial investigations, selected, again, for their popularity with male and female audiences. Snooker, from the data displayed in figure 3.4, appears as the most popular sport with a male audience, and second only to ice skating with women, and because of this capacity to attract both a large male following, as well as a significant female one, an analysis of the address of snooker will be conducted. It could be argued that a comparable case may be made for athletics. However, during the years of my research, athletics on British terrestrial television were dominated by the 1996 Olympics from Atlanta. While this television spectacle certainly deserves analysis in its own right, considering the televising of the Olympics with regard to the address of *British* televised sport would confuse rather than elucidate. The BBC's lack of control over the image and graphic channels in particular makes events like the Olympics a case of televisual hybridity, since codes of television from a particular cultural context (in this case, America) are amalgamated into another (i.e. Britain). While this is by no means a recent innovation, nor a phenomenon that does not affect the other sports due to be analysed, the 1996 Olympics was an extreme example, and there is not the space here to do justice to the relevant aspects of its televisualisation and account for its gendered address. However, of the sports that attract a highly gendered audience, the feminine address of ice skating and the masculine address of motor racing will be considered. In this way, it is anticipated that some general observations can be made with regard to issues of gender in the address of televised sport.

Van Zoonen (1994) has remarked that the amount of elucidation and detail involved in semiotic analysis requires not only that the analysis be confined to single texts or limited samples, but that the resulting volume of the "findings" is usually much larger than the text analysed. My method for both analysis and the eventual presentation of my findings must be informed by such an observation, therefore, if I want to avoid generating quantities of data which it will be impossible both for me to analyse and for prospective readers to access. Discussing Hodge and Tripp's (1978) analysis of the children's cartoon, *Fangface*, Seiter (1992) notes that,

it is the typical founding gesture of the semiotician to gather a small, manageable, and synchronic (contemporaneous) text or set of texts for analysis, and, using the text as a basis, try to establish the conventions governing the larger system (50-1).

Hodge and Tripp based their analysis on a single twenty minute cartoon, which could be considered as setting a precedent for the appropriate duration through which a semiotic analysis of a television text can be sustained. Televised sports broadcasts often supplement live action with live or pre-recorded prologues, analyses and postmortems, and an example of which (a prerecorded "photo-essay" about surfing) was the only aspect of televised sport considered by Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) to admit of visual construction (the speed of live action, in their view, precluding evidence of a similar construction). As argued in Chapter Two, the work of Galperin (1988), Nowell-Smith (1981) and Buscombe (1975) would suggest that visual construction is in fact a feature of the televising of live sports action, in terms both of the decisions made by the editor and the conventions of camera angles and shots, colours, lighting and graphics. To be representative of the full array of signification in televised sport, then, an analysis would need to include pre-recorded films, build-ups, discussion and live action, as well as considering advertisements featured in intervals, where they exist. The samples of text eventually chosen were, therefore, a combination of the above, lasting approximately thirty minutes, of which at least ten minutes featured live action. (Although sustained close analysis was generally confined to the start of the various broadcasts, I continued to view the remainder of the matches critically, which yielded additional material to support arguments developed on the basis of the central analysis).



Having established which sports texts to analyse, and the duration of the analysis, it remains to consider the best way to capture and represent the findings of the first stage of the analysis (isolating the signifiers) and my subsequent discussion of their signification. The first analysis I conducted was of a match which appeared on the video recordings I had made of BBC Sport's Wimbledon fortnight in 1995, and was intended to act as a "pilot study" inasmuch as it offered an opportunity to demonstrate that it was possible to use semiotic techniques to elucidate the role of televisual codes in constructing televised sport. My concern with a direct or indirect address to a gendered audience was secondary to this, dependent as it was on a successful outcome. During this analysis, then, I was able to highlight and resolve problems with regard to transcription and notation, representing the signifiers, and placing the analysis within a theoretical elaboration of the consequences for the question of gendered address.

The match chosen for analysis occurred on Monday 3rd July, in the second week of Wimbledon, 1995. I had videotaped all Wimbledon broadcasts from the Monday to the Sunday of that week, shown as part of BBC Sport's output on BBC 1 and BBC 2 in the afternoons and early evenings, and later as edited highlights, and from this collection, the Rusedski v Sampras match was arbitrarily selected. My concern was to develop a method of analysis which allowed me to trace the signifiers of the televised sport along Seiter's (1992) five channels of communication characteristic of the television medium, and in this the speed of tennis provided a challenging test case. I analysed the match at the level of camera shot, finding it necessary to develop a notation to record the, often rapid, combinations of camera angles along with the content of the frame. The commentary was transcribed and the graphics noted, along with any additional noise which might come under the rubric, sound effects. There was no music during the match. Seiter (1992) has suggested that, semiotically, one of the most important characteristics of television is its ability to use all five channels of communication simultaneously. In this sense, the full significance of any one of the five channels can only be realised when considered alongside the content of the other channels at the same time. As a result I attempted to represent a portion of the results of my analysis - the live action - in a way which retained both the flow and simultaneity of the signification (figure 4.1). The rest of my analysis, the first part, centred on the prologue to the match, and instead of representing my findings in the tabular form I reserved for the live action, I attempted to relate it linearly, interwoven with a discussion of its signification.

The Rusedski v Sampras match highlighted the interrelationship of class, nationhood and gender issues in the BBC's televising of Wimbledon, which was an illuminating outcome of the analysis. I concluded by offering a theoretical conceptualisation of the gendered address of tennis on the basis of my analysis. I considered there to be both strengths and weaknesses in my approach, which I discuss after the analysis of the match, which now follows in chapter 4.



## Chapter Four

# Femininity and Masculinity in Televised Tennis

An analysis of three examples of the BBC's Wimbledon tennis championship output in 1995 and 1996 are presented in this chapter. The first was broadcast as part of Wimbledon '95 and consists of a men's singles match between Greg Rusedski and Pete Sampras. Its analysis constituted an initial foray into semiotic analysis of television sport, and needs to be considered as an opportunity for methodological refinement as well as an analysis of the importance of class and nationhood in the address of men's tennis. The remaining analyses are drawn from broadcasts from Wimbledon '96 and concern both the men's and the ladies' singles finals in that year. In that the men's singles final was, unusually, contested by a black competitor, it was possible to discuss the BBC's (re)presentation of ethnicity on the televising of Wimbledon. Finally, a sustained analysis of women's tennis is presented and the later work of Laura Mulvey is invoked to illuminate the contradictions within the televising of women's sport, elicited by the analysis.

### 4.1 Tennis, Soap Opera and the Construction of an English Gentleman: Analysis of a Tennis Match: Rusedski v Sampras, Wimbledon '95

The most striking aspect of the television imagery of Wimbledon is the pervasiveness of green. The court, the court surround, the uniforms of the officials, the on-screen graphics - all green. Amongst the green appears, most prominently, the white of the players' clothes, reflected in the lines of the court and the lettering within the graphics. The centuries old connotative value of these two colours - green and white - can neither be lost on the Wimbledon Committee nor the BBC nor the viewer. Two ways of saying very similar things, green and white speak of purity and tranquillity. The suburban garden imagery of Wimbledon's lawn tennis is borne out by a colour scheme that manages to combine a rural idyll with urban sophistication: nature cultivated and made safe. This is a fantasised Englishness, standing in for Britishness, where the effect of subtle colour variation (dark green in the court surround, yellow green in the grass, yellow on dark green in the graphic scores) is a harmony characteristic of this televised version of national identity. As Humphreys (1995) points out, the rural myth turns on ideas of authenticity, green is good and a country life is

somehow a truer life. It is interesting then that the countryside is the preferred image a nation so heavily industrialised and urbanised as Britain has of itself. Yet, so important is the purity of Wimbledon's colour scheme, that, on Wimbledon's emergence onto the global marketplace of televised sports events, the International Management Group's suggestion to concentrate on marking and licensing its name and logo was preferred to accepting title sponsorship, competition sponsorship and arena ads (Whannel, 1992:179). Whannel (1992) suggests this was a move to "preserve the aura of exclusivity", but it was an exclusivity shared, in 1992, with an audience of 500 million in 105 countries (Blain et al., 1993:122).

The Englishness of Wimbledon is an imagined Englishness of the past. Young has observed that:

Today the Englishness of the past is often represented in terms of fixity, of certainty, centredness, homogeneity, as something unproblematically identical with itself. But if this was ever so, which is seriously to be doubted, it is noticeable that in the literary sphere such forms of Englishness are always represented as other, as something which other people possess often as an image of consummate masculinity - so, for example, in Jean Rhys's novels, it is the distant, unresponsive men whom the heroines look to lean on that are always presented as possessing these untroubled characteristics ...Perhaps the fixity of identity for which Englishness developed such a reputation arose because it was in fact continually being contested, and was rather designed to mask its uncertainty...(Young, 1995:2).

There is a great deal of "fixity" around the apparently "timeless" Englishness conveyed by the BBC's version of Wimbledon, where, if anywhere, the true embodiment of English masculinity promises to be found. Whannel believes:

Television celebrates, reproduces and has done much to invent and inscribe the traditions of British sport...It is hard to imagine Wimbledon without imagining the BBC coverage and the voice of Dan Maskell - as near to the Centre Court as most of us will get (Whannel, 1992:192).

The Reithian refusal of (obvious) advertising, hints of brass band in the theme tune, commentators whose voices themselves are heavy with tradition, all are



aspects of television's glory in the politeness of lawn tennis, where spectators eat strawberries and cream, often, forbearingly, beneath umbrellas, and are heard clapping each good shot. It is this kind of imagery Blain et al. (1993) report as being invoked by the European and American press in their, often flowery, accounts of Wimbledon, but which often allows Wimbledon to become "a symbol of a country with a class system which is also seen as somehow un-European" (125). But if Wimbledon has a class dimension, Whannel regards it not as a national event specifically for the royalty, aristocracy or the upper middle class, all of whom have their own events, but an occasion of "popular pleasure" that the Royals attend. "What we see represented on these occasions", he says "is a cosy consensual de-politicised communality" (1992:205).

Whannel describes the "world of sport as seen on TV" as:

a world in which women are subordinate, blacks are not quite full-status Britons, and men are the stars and the primary definers. In this world we are divided, not by class, by race or by gender, but by our individual sporting preferences, our local identity and our club loyalties. We are united by our common individuality, but above all by the constant appeal to our sense of national identity, our Englishness and our Britishness, on that most apparently innocent of sites, the sports field (Whannel, 1992:206).

The confusion of Englishness and Britishness as sources of identity indicates perhaps just one of the cracks that BBC Sport's Wimbledon fortnight needs to paper over: is it meaningful outside sport to invoke the concept of "full-status Britons" at all? While Great Britain might be accepted as "an invention forged above all by war" (Colley, 1992, cited in Cohen, 1994:201-2) superimposed on older loyalties and alignments, BBC TV, in their re-presentation of Wimbledon, appear, to be involved in the creation of a narrative of national identity in which all troublesome elements are reconciled - a narrative wherein concerns of gender feature large.

From audience statistical evidence alone, it has been established that tennis, unusually among sports broadcasts, has a significant female following, and it is possible to detect an address to women within BBC TV's Wimbledon. In fact, it could be said that, historically, an (attempted) address to women has been built into all televised sport. Whannel (1992) has gathered evidence of 1950s' concerns

to broaden TV sport's appeal beyond the expert to the less committed majority. Whannel's (1992) research leads him to conclude that one distinctive feature of the assumed audience model during the fifties was that "two oppositions - expert/novice and male/female became condensed together" (30-31), and so "the implicit assumption becomes one of male expertise and female ignorance" (31). This means that the conventions adopted during this period and which have remained with television sport - the magazine format; long shot/close-up patterns; commentary styles - which were intended to liven up a broadcast to woo a floating audience of novices or occasional viewers, could also be seen as an attempted address to a female viewer: "During the day, particularly on a weekday, our audience must, generally speaking, be predominantly of the female sex, and I feel that they would prefer more commentary than the average male viewer" say the guidelines for cricket production, 1952 (cited in Whannel, 1992:31). The use of close-ups was very much part of this attempt to add colour to sports broadcasts, including Wimbledon. In fact, Whannel (1992) traces present conventions to a 1956 memo from the then controller of BBC Television who, after watching the coverage by the BBC and ITV on two sets side by side (it was the first year the BBC had competition), commented that he felt ITV's coverage was better since they gave many more close-ups and showed the face more often. It is interesting to note that Modleski (1984) sees the close-up as a characteristic of "popular feminine visual art" (99) like soap opera. There, it is easy to forget, she says, "that characters even have bodies, so insistently are close-ups of faces employed" (99) and their presence activates the "gaze of the mother", providing "the spectator with training in "reading" other people, in being sensitive to their (unspoken) feelings at any given moment" (100). It isn't, of course, easy to forget that tennis players, like any other sportspeople, have bodies, but this, perhaps, goes some way to account for tennis's cross-gendered appeal.

## 4.2 The Prologue

That discourses of nationhood not only exist but are wilfully constructed in the Rusedski v Sampras match is evident even before its start. Des Lynam closes the commentary on the previous match, the not only female but entirely non-British Sanchez and Huber, as the camera holds them in extreme long shot, showing insignificant figures leaving a court which fills the screen:



Lynam: So Arancha plays Brenda Shulz in the last eight. Now, of course, coming up on centre court, is the match we've all been looking forward to today, our man, as we call him, Greg Rusedski, against Pete Sampras, the number two, the defending champion, champion for the last two years.

If tradition is important in televising Wimbledon, it is interesting to consider the BBC's guide to television commentary produced in 1952 which provided the basis for the, then, new professional technique of television commentary and a "formalised method of framing events, foregrounding individual interest and building a mode of address around points of identification for the viewer":

It stressed the need to watch the monitor, to add to the picture rather than interrupting it, not to be afraid of silence, to leave the picture to tell the story. It was important to be pithy, brisk and accurate. The score should be given regularly, essentials should be repeated, suspense built and technique explained (Whannel, 1992:28).

Importantly,

"You should build partisanship, but do not be partisan yourself. It should be "England's chances are brightening", not "our chances are brightening" (de Lotbiniere, 1952, cited in Whannel, 1992: 28).

Certainly, for Lynam, "our" chances are definitely brightening with "our" man, Rusedski. Using a mode of address insistently attempting unity among presenter and entire audience: "the match we've all been looking forward to today, our man, as we call him...", he emphasises the centre court location, as appropriate for the importance of the game, whilst creating a complex character for Rusedski's opponent, Sampras. Although fearsome, "champion, champion" Sampras is still second-best, number two (in the world or to Rusedski?), and defensive. From the outset, hero-villain status are accorded Rusedski and Sampras, and their positioning on this scale is a question of nationhood, and a good question it is.

From the image of the expectant (like "us") court filling the screen, we cut to a studio based discussion of Rusedski's chances. With Lynam is a besuited young man whose fitness for passing comment is his having played (and lost to) Ivan Ivanisivich. Lynam's opening comment is as negative as you can get:

He can't do it, can he, Rusedski, today?

but from such pessimism, Chris (Lynam's spar), builds a glorious picture of Rusedski's ability, not missing the importance of his character:

Lynam: he's an extrovert

Chris: he looks a winner, even if he's losing, and at times that's very, very important

Blain et al. (1993) in their survey of European and US press reports of Wimbledon discuss the ways that the perennial failure of British players is represented in these accounts. Failure at Wimbledon is linked to the failure of class-ridden Britain to take its place as a "credible member of the modern society of nations" (137) so that "the fate of British tennis ... becomes symbolic of a nation defined by failure" (138). For Lynam and Chris, however, it is not being a loser that is so important, it is the way you do it, and the language of the gentleman is intimately bound up with losing well. If sport can be seen as having a role in the illusion of racial superiority of the British created as justification for the empire, as Walvin (1987) suggests, then, while moral superiority can no longer be claimed on the basis of sporting success, being a "good" loser might be the next best thing.

The unashamed partisanship of Lynam appears evidence of the uncomplicated national identity of "our man" Rusedski, but it is far from clear whose man, in fact, he is. As if following Barthes' (1993:150) account of inoculation, Lynam introduces a little of this uncertainty, all the better to have it concealed:

Lynam: Do you think it's right, that we've all latched on to him?

Chris: Er ... difficult isn't it? I mean, I know some of the players have been upset with the situation, and probably rightly so. But he's British now, and it's not going to change and you have to get on and work with it. And, ultimately, if he raises the profile of the game in British tennis, er, in Britain, by getting more juniors in and more younger children playing then it has to be good for British tennis.

To which Lynam gives his assent. Rusedski, as is not said, was born and bred Canadian, but he is British now. If there was any concern that national identity



could exist at the level of surface, to be assumed and relinquished at ease, here the direct address to "you" is that it can not happen, despite evidence to the contrary, "it's not going to change and you have to get on and work with it".

To terminate the interview, Lynam turns away from Chris, and the screen shows a dramatic long shot from behind the silhouetted crowd, looking onto the bright, light filled, green court, a cinematic device symbolically integrating the television viewer into the crowd. Next we see fans with a Union Jack, then the players entering. The camera then shows the Duchess of Kent clapping, slowly. The next shot is the two players bowing to the Duchess, then going either side of the umpire to their seat. The camera has the net post in focus, creating a visual sense of confrontation between the players. Then there is a shot of fans in the crowd with a banner, "Greg our British champ", then the players sitting down, Rusedski nearest the camera, then the umpire, then Sampras most distant.

During all of which, the commentator's voice is heard. The "registers and slangs of earlier epochs", in Blain et al.'s (1993:151) phrase, can definitely be heard in the voice which greets Rusedski's appearance on court:

Commentator: Well, our Greg is indeed here all raring to go. And I think I detected a rather deeper bow than usual with the Duchess of Kent in front of him. What a marvellous moment for this young fellow. And look at them in the crowd with all their war paint on [a girl's face, painted like the Union Jack can be seen from the side, then a man with a Union Jack cap is shown] we're so used to seeing the painted warriors of Australia all over the place with the gold and the green, and now the red, white and blue for this Canadian Englishman.

If Wimbledon creates a fiction of national unity by evoking a fixed Englishness of the past, it is belied by a confusion of national identities and their interrelationship suggested by this piece of commentary. Here, while deference is paid to the aristocracy, the crowd are described with the racially loaded imagery of war paint, associated with the former colony of Australia. A new form of Britishness emerges, one in which remnants of feudalism can co-exist with colonial independence, deference to the past contends with the vigour of new nations. Into this *mêlée*, comes Rusedski, with an un-English sounding name from the ex-colonial Canada, to take up the flag for a new Britain. Young (1995) has suggested that the uncertain crossing and invasion of identities - whether of

class and gender or culture and race - has not only been the dominant motif of much English fiction, but such "monstrous hybridism" (using Kipling's phrase) can be seen to be specific to English cultural identity in general. Young sees Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) as "predicated on the fact that English culture is lacking, lacks something, and acts out an inner dissonance that constitutes its secret, riven self" (Young, 1995:3), and its lack of core identity is what has "enabled it to be variously and counteractively constructed" (3).

Each player is shown warming up, while the commentator, referring to close-ups of painted faces in the crowd, says:

Commentator: And this is the moment that all those good people have been waiting for, a British player to cheer in the second week of Wimbledon, which doesn't happen too often.

Half the screen is taken over by Sampras's statistics, shown in a graphic box, while the commentator interprets them.

Commentator: So let's look at the world number two. Here he is, Pete Sampras who, in my view at any rate, isn't playing at his best yet, but he's getting better all the time. At the age of twenty-three, still not near his peak. Not the biggest of men by comparison with some of the giants like Dick Norman, six feet eight playing out on court two against Boris Becker at this moment...

and the commentator lists his considerable achievements, whilst questioning whether he is playing well at the moment. In this way, the commentary undermines the import of the visuals, attempting to introduce doubts into what otherwise appears a glorious career. We learn here too that size is important, although it appears not to have much effect on the chances of a player winning (Becker beats the giant Dick Norman and goes on to win the championship). Similarly, Rusedski is described as a "young British giant" in contrast to his less consequential statistics shown simultaneously as an on-screen graphic.

If height and youth can be seen to have signifying value not directly linked to sporting ability, it might explain Rusedski's success in the role of national sporting hero for British television. Tall, slim and perpetually grinning, Rusedski is the embodiment of an ideal of good-humoured athletic manliness developed in



nineteenth century England which was able to justify "the British as the elect who had a God-given duty to govern and civilise the world" in the words of Richards (1987:104). According to Richards (1987), inspiration for this ideal of Victorian masculinity came from both classical and medieval sources, both "strained through the Victorians' own moral filter" (Richards, 1987:93), including aspects of the code of courtly chivalry, where idealised love of a noble lady inspired knights to fight for her glory. It is interesting in this context to observe television's references to the players' wives and girlfriends. From a focus on Rusedski's serve, with the accompanying commentary: "this serve has got to function", we cut to a shot of two glamorous-looking women in the crowd, one of whom is Lucy Connor, who is described by the commentator as:

Commentator: one of the reasons Greg Rusedski is in this country, his girlfriend,

who then goes on:

Commentator: in the back of your picture and sitting in front is Elena Mulkay, who for five years has been the constant companion of Pete Sampras.

and the camera cuts back to Sampras, underscoring the connection.

4.3 The Match

After the warm-up the match begins. A detailed shot by shot breakdown of the first three games, with accompanying commentary, is given in figure 4.1 below.

**Figure 4.1 Shot-by-shot analysis of games 1 - 3: Rusedski v Sampras, Wimbledon, 1995, BBC TV**

Key: CU: Close up; FS: Full shot; ELS: Extreme long shot; LS: Long shot; B: Behind; A-B: Above and behind; b-c: bottom centre; R: Rusedski; S: Sampras;

**Game No.1**

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects
	CU two supporters with union jack party hats /cut/	"the weight of history is against Sampras..."	clapping begins and rises to crescendo
	ELS crowd and court zoom in to LS as R walks on to court court fills screen		

	R serves, wins point /cut/		great applause
	FS R about to serve /cut/		
	LS (B Sampras) Sampras receiv-		
	ing serve, returns & wins point /cut/		
Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects
	FS Sampras /cut/		
	Replay /cut/	"And this says, just be careful, Rusedski"	
	CU R serving /cut/		
	LS R wins point. S wins point /cut/		
	FS Sampras /cut/		
	CU R walking to baseline to serve /cut/		
(Score: yellow on dark green) 30/30 (b-c) 40/30 "	FS R serving /cut/		
	LS (B Sampras) R wins point /cut/		great applause
	CU Rusedski /cut/	"I think we'd better start counting the aces"	
Deuce "	LS (A-B Sampras) /cut/		
	CU R serving /cut/		
	LS (B Sampras) R serving /cut/		
	LS (A-B Sampras) S returns and wins point /cut/		
	CU Sampras /cut/		
	Replay /cut/	"Two absolutely magnif- icent perfect backhands. Right down with the ball"	
Adv Sampras Break Point	CU S preparing to return /cut/		
	LS (A Sampras) R wins point /cut/		
	CU Rusedski /cut/		
	FS R serving /cut/		
	LS (A Sampras) R wins point /cut/		
	CU Sampras /cut/		
	CU Rusedski /cut/		
Adv Rusedski	LS (A Sampras) R wins game /cut/		
	CU Rusedski smiling and sitting		
VOICE 1: "Well, to the delight of most of the people sitting here, a very convincing service game, but, Bill, they've never played each other before, so what does that mean?"			
VOICE 2: "Well, I don't think it means an awful lot actually because, er, obviously...does he ever stop looking so cheerful, I wonder! Maybe if we see him lose he might, er, wipe that smile off his face but I doubt it. No, I don't think it does mean all that much, John, in the sense that these two know each other quite well, obviously he knows Sampras ' play better than Sampras knows, er, Rusedski's, but having said that, they practice together a lot at Saddlebrook, don't they? and, er, Greg has been, um, on record saying he knows a lot about Sampras through hitting with him frequently, they practice together quite often, and he's, he says he's learnt a few things, what shots Sampras likes, and, therefore, what he doesn't like and that knowledge will stand him in good stead."			
	MS clapping crowd pans left to LS of players sitting either side of umpire's chair /cut/		



Game No. 2

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects
	CU Sampras walking into camera (out of focus) /cut/ LS (A-B Rusedski) receiving. Sampras wins point /cut/ CU Sampras to FS Sampras serving /cut/ LS (A-B R receiving) Sampras wins point		
Rusedski 1 Sampras *0 (top left of screen) 30/0 (centrebottom)	shot remains /cut/  CU Sampras serving /cut/ LS (A-B Rusedski) R wins point /cut/ CU Rusedski /cut/ Replay /cut/  Replay /cut/	"Oh that's a marvellous shot!"  "And now this shows cool skill. It tells me more about his mind than about his shot actually. Totally the right shot" "But he plays it coolly, he doesn't look at it too hard. Lifts it."	
Rusedski 1 Sampras *0 30/15 R 1 S *0 30/30	LS (A-B Rusedski) R's point  shot remains, R's point	"A very similar first service game for each of them . Each served an ace and a double fault within the first six points"	
	shot remains. S's point shot remains. R's point /cut/ CU Rusedski /cut/ CU Sampras /cut/	"Well, as Sampras will discover, Rusedski's got two or three varieties on the backhand, that lovely top spin. He blocks it well as well, particularly down the lines"	
R 1 S *0 Deuce	LS (B Rusedski) /cut/ LS court. S's point shot remains. R's point /cut/ CU Rusedski Slow Motion Replay /cut/	"Now this is the other variety of serve, the slice down the line there. A beautiful shot. I've admired that in his other matches"	
R 1			
S *0 Deuce R 1	LS (B Rusedski) /cut/		

S *0	LS (A-B R) Sampras's point		
Adv Sampras	/cut/		
	CU Sampras /cut/		
	LS (A-B Rusedski) Sampras		"So almost identical service
	wins game /cut/		games, two deuces to each of
			them. Double fault, aces.
			One all."
<b>Game No. 3</b>			
<b>Graphics</b>	<b>Image</b>	<b>Voice</b>	<b>Sound effects</b>
	LS (A-B Rusedski) R serving		
	R wins point /cut/		
	CU Rusedski /cut/		
R*1			
S 0 15/0	LS (A-B Rusedski) R wins		
	point /cut/		
	Slow Motion Replay, zooming	"That was very risky but	
	in dramatically to close up of	beautifully played"	
	R's face /cut/		
	CU Rusedski /cut/		
R*1			
S 0 40/0	LS (A-B Rusedski) R wins		
	game /cut/		
	CU Sampras /cut/		
	LS (A-B Rusedski) following		
	players to their seats /cut/		
VOICE 1: "Very emphatic service game there, and the joy on Rusedski's face I think is shared by almost everyone present"			
VOICE 2: "Absolutely, and what you see is what you get with Greg Rusedski and if you see a big smile on his face you feel like putting one on yours, and, gosh, John, there are a lot of big smiles around this centre court today. Both when he walked on, when he played his service game, when he lost a point he still smiled, when he played that delectable little half volley on the forehand right in the middle of that, er, game".			
	Slow Motion Replay with R		
	in FS /cut/		
VOICE 2: "Look at this service action, it's huge, isn't it? Coming forward because he tossed the ball well forward and there is the half volley. Soft hands there. That went about half an inch over the net. It was terribly risky. I don't think he meant it to be that close. But it was a lovely touch and it certainly would have pleased him".			
	CU R's coach /cut/		

At this point it is worth saying something about the camera work in Wimbledon. Referring to what she calls the "constant, claustrophobic use of close-up shots" in soap opera, Modleski (1984:99) provides a discussion of the effect of this television technique. She says:

Often only the audience is privileged to witness the characters' expressions, which are complex and intimately coded, signifying triumph, bitterness, despair, confusion - the entire emotional register, in fact.

The same could be said for the effect of the plentiful close-ups in televised tennis. So, while sport has long been regarded as a masculine media text, there is



some room to suggest that certain sports share characteristics with soap opera, as the archetypically feminine text, rather than stand in opposition to it. Modleski maintains that the use of close-ups activates not only a feminine gaze, but a maternal one, provoking anxiety about the welfare of others. Following this line of thought, the more often a tennis player is shown in close-up, the more the viewer will be stimulated to be concerned about him. In the first game of the Rusedski v Sampras match, Rusedski was shown in close-up seven times, in contrast to Sampras who had three close-ups.

Graphic scores appear on screen towards the middle of the game, when they begin to accompany each point. During the second game, however, the scores disappear at crucial moments. Rusedski wins the first game and Sampras the second, and neither's serve is broken. Yet, when the score is 40/30 (to Sampras) no graphic score is shown. Rusedski wins the next point and the score Deuce appears at the bottom centre of the screen, but when Sampras wins the next point, again no score is seen. Rusedski wins the following point and the score is shown. Sampras wins the next point, and finally "Advantage Sampras" appears on the screen to document it.

In contrast to the first, the second game, won by Sampras, shows each player in close-up four times. The commentators, meanwhile, eulogise each of Rusedski's successful shots. The closing remark that the viewer had seen "almost identical service games" may have referred to the scores, but not to the way that they were televisually relayed.

The third game was remarkable for the lack of appearance of Sampras. Rather than employ a long shot/close-up pattern that could be said to loosely characterise the previous game, this game was shot almost entirely from a long shot above and behind Rusedski who occupied the end of the court closest to the viewer. However, Rusedski was shown in close-up three times, while Sampras, seen in the distance for the game's duration, appeared in close-up only at its completion.

Close analysis of these three games does not afford the possibility of detecting either conspiracies or distinct patterns. Yet, it does contradict any notion that television neutrally relays a sporting event utilising set shot sequences and unbiased commentary. In fact the coincidence of five channels of communication (as detected by Seiter, adapting Metz, 1992) have an accumulative effect.

Altman's observation on the complicated interrelationship of sound and image is worth reconsidering. Sound "serves as a value laden editing function, identifying better than the image itself the parts of the image that are sufficiently spectacular to merit closer attention by the intermittent viewer" (Altman, cited in Seiter, 1992:44-5), so that, while the commentary is a response to image the viewer sees, it could be said to close down the number of possible meanings an image may have. A gendered address can, in this way, be said to be built into the use of camera shots, which simultaneously hold the raw material for a discourse of nationhood which is subjected to the editing function of the soundtrack. And, while the soundtrack primarily holds the voices of the commentators, with all their connotative import, other noise, like the cheers of the crowd add to the effect.

Within the image, then, the camera shots are able to construct an effect of intimacy, and, with Rusedski, this intimacy has a direct relationship with how far he is able to assume the role of "our British champ" (to quote a banner in the crowd) despite the handicap of his Canadian associations. Again, Rusedski's appearance helps recreate him in the image of the English gentleman that the commentators cast him as from the beginning, and his disposition completes the effect. Much attention is paid to his tendency to smile: after the first game one commentator interrupts his flow to enthuse:

Commentator: does he ever stop looking so cheerful, I wonder! Maybe if we see him lose he might, er, wipe that smile off his face but I doubt it

and then, after the third game,

Commentator: what you see is what you get with Greg Rusedski and if you see a big smile on his face you feel like putting one on yours

The descriptions of his play are similarly interesting: he has "soft hands" and a "lovely touch". Rusedski not only fits the role of Victorian gentleman but also that of the "sensitive man" that Brown (cited in Fiske, 1987) says is characteristic of male characters in soap opera. English national identity of the Wimbledon variety is bound up with a version of masculinity which is able to combine the nostalgic address of the "good sport" with the heterosexual address of the romantic hero.



The artifice of the televisually constructed Englishness of Rusedski comes close to shattering, however, at a crucial point in the match: Rusedski argues with the umpire. Stearns (1987), in an article tracing the historical relationship between masculinity and anger in American society, highlights the very different traditions of expressing anger in Europe and America. While the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw common trends towards the need to control anger in the West, Stearns (1987:7) maintains that in the late nineteenth century, an American ambivalence concerning anger arose, which could still be discerned in the 1950s. Personal displays of temper were still disapproved of, but, for men, anger, properly channelled, could be a useful spur to achievement. The new approach to anger paralleled, and was fed by, two movements: "growing interest in competitive sports and the Progressive esteem for moral indignation in the cause of reform as part of masculine culture" (84), hence the symbolic pair of boxing gloves given as growing up presents to middle-class boys until the 1940s.

In recreating a mythical past, it could be suggested that Wimbledon simultaneously recreates different traditions in emotional control, contrasting an English "stiff upper lip" with American indignation (seen, most surely, by the British media as temper tantrums) at perceived official ineptitude. Witness John MacEnroe.

It is interesting, then, to consider Rusedski's on-court behaviour in this light. Sampras having won the first set, the score was two games all in the second set, with Rusedski serving. Just at the moment that Rusedski thought he had won the game with an ace, the umpire called a let, causing Rusedski to question his decision:

Rusedski to Umpire: Oh come on, you looked right at Pete before you called it.

Interestingly, the commentators choose to ignore this interjection, describing the umpire as having "got a little quizzical look from Sampras", and saying "that yes, he too, had heard something". Unfortunately for Rusedski, Sampras wins the next point, bringing the score to deuce.

Then Rusedski breaks a string in his racket, adding to the tension. He wins the next point and is again one point away from winning the game. At this point, a return shot from Sampras is called out by a line judge, only to have that

judgement overruled by the umpire. This, the commentators describe as "a good overrule" because "there was no doubt that it was in". Both the original line judge's call and Rusedski's face would indicate the contrary.

Rusedski continues with the game, but loses to Sampras. As he returns to his seat, struggling to retain self control, he vents his frustration with the umpire saying "that was absolutely amazing", repeating his charge that the umpire looked at Sampras before making the first decision, and suggesting suspicion at his overruling on two balls. It is possible to hear a "boo" from the crowd and the commentators respond by saying:

Commentator: Well, while you can understand his feelings. I think [the umpire] was right in both cases,

and then, as the camera shows Rusedski sitting down:

Commentator: Well, it was a great pity it happened anyway, whatever the rights and wrongs of it. But that's wiped the smile unfortunately off Greg Rusedski's face. He feels he's been hard done by. He thought that the serve that he served was well over the net but it was called a net cord. And the umpire and the line judge were absolutely right if they heard it and felt it in the case of the line judge.

A slow motion replay of the shot appears on the screen, with a graphic circle around the bouncing ball. The commentary continues:

Commentator: And this is the one where the umpire overruled and we thought absolutely correctly but it bounced inside the line not even on it. And so twice poor Greg Rusedski feels that he's been hard done by. But he should try to forget it. Tough when he's just been broken.

It is interesting that it is at this point that the broken Rusedski's complicated nationality is mentioned, as the commentator suggests he wants to perform well in front of his "adopted countrymen".

It is not only the voices of the commentators that, during this sequence, are able to close down the number of possible meanings the images might have, but the voices of both the crowd, the officials and the players all insinuate themselves



into the soundtrack, and slow motion and television graphics manipulate the imagery. Importantly, it is not just Rusedski's words which are heard, but his accent, which to reconsider traditional national attitudes to anger, is much closer to American than it ever was to English. The commentary all but credits him with the kind of moral indignation Stearns (1987) suggests characterises "good" anger in an American tradition, while reasserting his lack of correctness (or perhaps, Englishness) in not, still, abiding by the umpire's decisions. Simultaneously, "boos" from the crowd, as well as slow motion replays and on-screen graphics register the same disapproval.

Sampras goes on to win the set and then the match, and, while Union Jacks in the crowd continue to be shown, Sampras, described as having the "weight of history against [him]" on his arrival on court, is by the end of the match, being referred to as "a panther leaping at a prey".

It would appear, then, that Wimbledon's television audience is offered a spectating position based on an ability to identify oneself with a specific version of nostalgic nationhood. But this is a spectating position that is intimately concerned with gender. A masculine subject position is available corresponding with the English gentleman athlete, and a feminine position based on heterosexual romance and empathetic solicitude, marked by the prevalence of close-ups and the sensitive male lead. To this list of characteristics previously associated with soap opera rather than sport could be added the domestic connotations that Wimbledon's lawns offer of the homes and gardens of England past. But a further consideration of Wimbledon's gendered address is afforded by the use of camera shots of the crowd in the televising of the match.

Towards the end of the match, in the third set, spectators, usually bedecked in Union Jacks, are shown with increasing frequency - presumably with the aim of communicating the mounting tension in the crowd. Then, following a close-up of Sampras, a medium shot of three long-haired, attractive young female spectators are shown, before cutting to a close-up of Rusedski. Then, shortly afterwards, after a long shot from above and behind Sampras, which saw Rusedski win a point, another shot of the three young women is shown, who are now looking very excited, smiling and leaning forward on the edge of their seats, intent on the match and unaware they are being seen. A close-up of Rusedski follows.

While some unusual characteristic made other audience members interesting to the camera, like wearing Union Jacks or being a relation or trainer to one of the players, nothing other than heterosexual attractiveness could be said to qualify these particular spectators for such attention. The women are young, stereotypically feminine, and are unaccompanied by men (see Appendix A). On each occasion they are shown, a close-up of Rusedski, with its corresponding connotations of intimacy, follows immediately. This could be said to constitute an address based on heterosexual femininity, offering the television audience a point of identification with these excited female spectators. However Pollock's (1992) discussion of the art work of Renoir and Cassat indicates that, historically, it has by no means been unusual for female spectators at public events to become part of the spectacle themselves, to be watched themselves while they are watching the proceedings, in the way these three female spectators are shown. The resulting address, therefore, to a television audience has to be one based on heterosexual masculinity.

As a final point, it could be suggested that the discourse of fantasy Englishness at play in the televising of Wimbledon exists prior to the individuals who may come to embody it since Rusedski's athletic gentlemanliness was simulated from the codes of mythic Englishness. Just as that mythic Englishness is premised on a faith in a fixed national identity of the past, it stands in contrast to the lack of fixity in the national identity of Rusedski who comes, in this match, to represent it. While he may look the part of an English gentleman, he sounds more like his opponent than he does the crisp accent of the commentators, trying as they might to claim him (and the audience) as their own.

British televised tennis, as exemplified by the BBC's Wimbledon broadcasts, appears, therefore, to provide spectating positions for both masculine- and feminine-identified subjects. The viewing figures which indicate that similar proportions of the male and female populations enjoy watching tennis on television would seem to correspond with this analysis. Of course, while subjectivity need not correspond to biology, ethnographic research on television audiences, like that of Morley (1986) and Gray (1987), found that actual viewing habits conformed so tightly to stereotyped notions of masculine and feminine behaviour patterns, that Charlotte Brunsdon (1986, cited in Van Zoonen, 1994:123) commented that they were "almost unbelievable". In this respect, then, it may be considered permissible to correlate gendered address with gendered audiences. And, it could be suggested that, while Wimbledon addresses its



audience on a level of masculinity and femininity, that address is somehow hierarchised, since the masculine address contains within it the feminine viewing position, as evidenced by the absorption of female spectators into the spectacle. It would seem that the controlling gaze is masculine.

#### 4.4 Reflections on a first analysis: refinements to method

The analysis of Rusedski v Sampras, as an initial attempt to apply semiotic techniques to televised sport throws up a number of points for discussion, which can be summarised as i) the usefulness of semiotic concepts as a means to understanding televised sport; ii) the limitations of methods of representing first stage analysis; iii) the representativeness of the match, and the need for further analysis.

Emerging most clearly from the analysis is the way a semiotic approach can illuminate areas of significance lost to content analysis. By considering all aspects of the visuals and sound track as examples of paradigmatic choices, it is possible to pose new questions which undermine the "obviousness" of the construction of both image and sound. Still further, by considering a tennis match as a syntagmatic structure, a narrative emerges that combines the narratives identified by Whannel (1992) in his more general observations on televised sport. There appears a distinct narrative of romantic nostalgia operative in the televising of the Rusedski v Sampras match in which elements of the wider narratives of class, "race", gender and nationhood are seen to interrelate. I would argue it is this underlying narrative which is central to understanding the persistence of gender and other stereotypes in televised tennis, for which quantitative analysis is unable to account, and which is responsible for its popularity with a female audience.

Semiotic analysis is open to accusations of partiality, which it may possibly be unable to avoid. Trujillo (1995) in his interpretative analysis of ABC's Monday Night Football quotes Duncan (1990) in this regard:

Responsible textual studies do not assert with absolute certainty how particular texts are interpreted...but they suggest...likely interpretations of a particular text. Ultimately, these interpretations must be judged on the

basis of the persuasiveness and logic of the researcher's discussion (in Trujillo, 1995:407).

An assertion as to what might constitute a sign within a second-order signifying system can be considered an act of interpretation and selection itself, and it can be suggested that interpretations made ostensibly on the basis of text exist, in fact, prior to it. By meticulously describing what are being considered a text's signifying elements it might be possible to minimise these problems. Yet, the transient character of television, its unremitting flow, and the simultaneous occurrence of multiple signifiers, all present problems for representing the communication channels of television in a way that accurately reflects their signifying import, much of which may rely on their simultaneity and flow. Figure 4.1 above was an attempt to represent the signifiers of the match in a way which captured the flow of television. Its success as a model for representing signifiers in televised sport is, however, limited, in that it represents only part of the analysis - the live action - and that its use of abbreviations presents a problem for a reader. Whilst requiring a significant investment of labour, the analysis as a whole would benefit from representing the entire text in this way (that is, the prologue, the studio discussion and, where relevant, pre-recorded films and title sequences). Figure 4.1 neglects the sound track - incidental noises from the crowd and players can be enormously evocative, and, although there was no music during this broadcast, it is important to have space to represent music when it occurs. My use of abbreviation was intended to economise on space, but impeded understanding to the extent where I resolved to abandon it altogether. On the basis of these amendments, a new method for representing the signifying elements of television sport was developed, more space being made available for representing the activity within the five channels of communication by using landscape page orientation, and descriptions were written out in full without the use of abbreviations (see Appendices B and C).

Lastly, it needs to be observed that, in considering the feminine address of televised tennis, not to analyse women's tennis would be a mistake. While *Rusedski v Sampras* unexpectedly presented an opportunity to analyse the way discourses of nationhood were woven into the gendered address, the match was unusual in that it had been exceptional to find a British player in the final stages of Wimbledon, and particularly one whose national identity was as problematic as Rusedski's. As a result, I have endeavoured to repeat my analysis with a men's match not featuring British players, and a women's match, each offering an



opportunity to exemplify a refined method for representing the first stage analysis. The matches selected were the men's and women's finals from the BBC's coverage of Wimbledon '96. The men's match, again, had its exceptional aspect: a black player reaching the final, yet this provides a useful point of contrast with the representation of Rusedski as a white "Canadian-Englishman". It is with this in mind that I have chosen to analyse the prerecorded film telling the story of Mal Washington's experience in the championship, which was shown immediately after a film focusing on his opponent, Richard Krajcek, and prior to the match.

#### 4.5 Analysis of a short film about Mal Washington's Wimbledon

The signifying elements within the film - the first-order semiotic analysis - can be seen in figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2 Shot-by-shot analysis of part of prologue to Mens' Singles Final (7/7/96) BBC1

Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
Close shot from above:			
Washington about to serve;			
Full shot: serving.		Hollow sounds of balls being hit	Indiscernible music:
Full shot: opponent (Martin) returning.			(reminiscent of ice cream vans)
Full shot: Washington returning.			
Full shot: Martin returning.			
Full shot: Washington returning.			
Full shot: Martin returning.			
Full shot: Washington returning.			
Full shot: Marin returning.			
Full shot: Washington returning.			
Full shot: Martin leaving ball that's played long.		Martin: "Oh yeah. Come on!"	
Close shot: Martin.	Umpire: "Game Martin. Martin leads by five games to one"	Crowd applauds.	
Slow motion close shot: Washington, disconsolate.			Kate Bush: "Don't give up, because you have friends..."
Long shot (from behind Martin): Washington wins point.			
Close shot: Washington, more concentrated.			
Long shot (behind Martin): Washington wins point.			
Close shot: Washington, talking to himself.			
Full shot: Washington running to reach low shot.			Don't give up, you're not beaten yet.
Close shot: Washington.			Don't give up,



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Full shot: Washington reaching high volley at net, and sinking Long shot, zooming in to close shot: Washington on knees. Close shot: Washington, in studio, green leaves on a white trellis behind his head.	Commentator: "He's done it!" Washington: "It wasn't easy."	Crowd erupts in cheers and applause.	I know you can Music fades out.
	Long shot, zooming in to full shot: Washington and others in tracksuits getting out of a car and unloading equipment.	"It was a struggle. You know, you go out, you get down three-love and pretty soon you're down five-one there in the fifth, and you just struggle, you just fight to stay in the match, and, I don't know, an hour, a couple of hours later, you're serving for the match and, you know, it was a good - it was a great opportunity, a big opportunity. You know, I just feel good I was able to just come through it" Voice-over: "By six-thirty last night, Malevere Washington was back at his hotel. The 500-1 outsider was such a long shot for the championship, even he didn't have a flutter. Shame"		
	Close shot: scoreboard:			
(logo)Rolex(logo)	SetsGames Points		Hollow sound of	Explosive
R. FROMBERG	1 5		ball being hit.	start to fast guitar music from "Pulp Fiction"
V				
M. WASHINGTON	3 7		Crowd cheering and applauding.	
	Full shot: Washington in slow motion reaching shot, changing to close shot: Washington clenching teeth and fist in victory.			

Graphics (logo)Rolex(logo)	SetsGames Points		Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
M. WASHINGTON V	3	6				
T. ENQUIST	0	3	Close shot: Enquist waiting to receive serve. Close shot: Washington serving. Long shot (above & behind Enquist), Washington serving ace.	Umpire: "Game, set and match, Washington"	Crowd cheers applauds.	
(logo)Rolex(logo)	1.15		Close shot: Washington.  Very close shot, zooming out very quickly (causing letters to blur): scoreboard:			
B. ULIHRACH V	0	0				
M. WASHINGTON	3	6	Long shot (above & behind Ulihrach): Washington playing cross-court volley. Full shot: Ulihrach. Close shot: scoreboard:		Crowd cheers and applauds.	
(logo)Rolex(logo)	1.45					
P. HAARHUIS V	0	2	(score appears suddenly after ½ second delay)			
M. WASHINGTON	3	6				



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Long shot (above & behind Washington): playing two-handed backhand then forehand to win point.			
	Full shot: Washington walking away.			
	Full shot: Haarhuis bending to catch breath and pick up his racket on the ground in front of him.			
	Close shot: scoreboard: zooming in to black of scoreboard)			
(logo)Rolex(logo)				
	3.36			
	SetsGames Points			
M. WASHINGTON V	3	6		
A. RADULESCU	2	4		
	Full shot, zooming in to close shot (behind Washington):and Match, Washington, three sets to two"	Commentator: "Game, set and applauding.	Crowd cheering	
	Radulescu and Washington shaking hands at net.			
	Close shot: scoreboard (zooming in as before):			
(logo)Rolex(logo)				
	Sets Games Points			
T. MARTIN V	2	8		
M. WASHINGTON	3	10		
	Close shot: Martin and Washington in slow motion,		Crowd cheering and applauding.	Music fades out.

Graphics

Image

leaving court.

Close shot: Washington in studio, with leaves and trellis behind.

Close shot: Washington serving.  
Full shot: Washington running to reach high volley, and walking away, batting away second ball.  
Close shot: Washington in studio.

Close shot (slow motion): Arthur Ashe holding

Voice

Voice-over: "The impossible had happened - Mal Washington through to the final. Next for Krajcek" "...tough, just like my past six matches have been, you know. Richard's a good player, a very good player. He's obviously playing, you know, some of his best tennis and, you know, that's due to the fact that - look at the guys he's beaten, so you know, I'm going to take the approach I've taken in every match, try to get out there, and, er, you know, stick to my game...stick to my game plan, and then you put your soul out there on the line, and see what happens"

"This is, er, this is one thing you work for your whole life and you never know when and if it's going to, you know, the opportunity's going to arise, and when you get there, you just hope you can capitalise on it, but, you know, being in the finals of Wimbledon is a great feeling"

Voice-over: "Arthur Ashe was the last black player to win Wimbledon back in

Sound effects

Hollow sound of balls being hit.  
Crowd explodes with cheers.

Crowd applauds and cheers.

Music



Graphics

Image

Wimbledon trophy.

Close shot: Washington in studio.

Full shot: Washington and another walking around a large fountain, and up to large French windows.

Close shot: Edberg.

Long shot (above & behind): Washington serving then hitting a successful cross-court volley.

Close shot: Washington.

Close shot: Washington about to serve.

Long shot (above and behind):

Voice

1975, when he beat Jimmy Connors in the final. Washington was just six at the time"

"That was a great victory for him.

And, you know, me being in the finals, you know, I've had some great victories, it'd be great if I could also win tomorrow, but, you know, I've definitely thought about it, but you don't - er - here's a lot of pressure. There's a lot of outside pressures, when you get to the finals at Wimbledon. And, you know, for me anyways, I don't care to try to take all this pressure in, because my head would explode if you let it" Voice-over: "Last night, Mal went out for a quiet meal to prepare for the biggest day in his life. It was 1991

that Washington playing Stefan Edberg at Queen's first caught the eye in this country.

Hollow ball sounds.  
"Out!" (in female R.P. accent).  
Crowd applauds.

"The same year he was involved in a gripping five set duel with Ivan Lendl, and lost

Sound effects

Music

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Lendl - three difficult shots reached; Lendl wins point. He arrived at this Wimbledon simply	from two sets up. hoping to for the best. Six previous visits had reaped just three victories"	Crowd starts screaming at closeness of play.	
	Close shot: Lendl, talking to him himself and gesturing with racket. Close shot: Washington in studio.	"With my tennis, you know, if I don't know what I'm doing, I figure, neither does my opponent, so sometimes, I go in, sometimes I stay back, I just try to mix things up" Voice-over: "Mal Washington's twenty-seven, and despite being ranked twentieth in the world, he's relatively unknown"	Crowd screaming, cheering and applauding.	
	Full shot: Washington warming up.			
(on dark green strip at bottom of screen, logo in light green): (logo) BUD COLLINS (in white) NBC Television (light green) BBC Sport(logo)	Close shot: white man in late middle age, with short, white beard, blue jacket, striped shirt and yellow tie.	"Well, everybody says Mal because they can't pronounce his name - that's how unknown he is. It's a simple Malevere, get that, get that. His strength, I think, is his heart. He's shown that here, in coming through so many tough matches that he used to lose at Wimbledon. He was a terrible Wimbledon player. He was on centre court for the first time in his life against Tod Martin. He's learning to volley better, his movement and his speed are exceptional assets and I think, he's the player of destiny, he's going to say, "Thank you ma'am" to the Duchess as she hands him the cup"		



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Close shot: black player in casual tennis clothes, on court. Close shot: Mal Washington.	Voice-over: "Mal's brother, Mashika, who failed to come through Wimbledon qualifying, has been helping him to prepare for today's encounter with Richard Krajcek" "We're just getting ready. We have a tough match. So we have to be ready on all areas of our game, from the serves to the volleys to the returns, so we want to make sure we've covered everything and then work up a good sweat" Interviewer: "And is there a particular strategy you've discussed as to how Mal might win?" Mashika: "Work hard. Work hard. And keep working hard. That's the only way you'll get him"		Phil Collins: "I'm on my way I'm making it.  I've got to make it show, yeah. So much larger than life.
(on dark green strip, bottom of screen, letters: white): (logo) MASHIKA WASHINGTON BBC Sport	Close shot: Mashika			
Dollar bill unfurls to cover screen. Still image of Mal Washington's head transposed over George Washington's on dollar bill.	(with smile).		Voice-over: Win or lose he'll go home with lots of these. For victory, nearly six hundred thousand dollars. Even as runner-up, he'll collect nearly three hundred thousand.	
	Close shot: Washington, wincing. Full shot: Washington running to net to volley (right of court). Close shot, zooming out to Full shot: Washington, double-handed backhand (left of court).			

Graphics

Image

Full shot: Washington, double-handed backhand (right of court).  
Close shot: Mashika and a woman in crowd, tensing fist.  
Close shot: Washington blowing kiss in slow motion.  
Full shot, zooming to close shot: Washington, kneeling on ground leaning back, fists raised and clenched in victory.  
Still of Wimbledon trophy, with still of Washington's face superimposed on it. Image fades into long shot of empty court...

Voice

Sound effects

Music

I'm going to watch it growing"

Music fades.



The film begins with action from Washington's semi-final match against Tod Martin, at a point where Washington is trailing five games to one. Washington's eventual victory positions him within the narrative as an underdog, a characterisation underscored by the accompanying music from Kate Bush "Don't give up...". Washington's unrestrained displays of emotion at winning are replayed (he sinks to his knees, his fists clenched, while the music asserts "I know you can make it", and the commentator exclaims, "He's done it!"), further augmenting the impression of the unlikelihood of his presence in the final. Shots of Washington in the studio in interview make use of the green and white colour scheme and nature references observable in the Rusedski v Sampras match: behind his head is a white trellis supporting green leaves. Unlike the characterisation of Rusedski, however, the commentary, graphics and musical soundtrack throughout the Washington film make reference to financial considerations. Rusedski, as the eternally smiling "good loser" references the tradition of the English gentleman player, central to which was the ideology of amateurism. In contrast, Washington is continually associated with the prospects of financial reward for his playing, unearthing an English-American antagonism by evoking the markedly different cultural myth of the American Dream. First the commentator expresses disappointment that Washington had not placed a bet on his chances in the tournament, the odds against him being so high, then a complex narrative emerges which culminates in an image of Mal Washington's head being superimposed onto a dollar bill. This kind of subtle everyday practice by which the success or failure of African-Americans are attributed to "their ability or inability to take advantage of the 'American Dream'" (Wilson, 1997:177) has been termed *enlightened* racism, which Wilson (1997) following McKay (1995), and originally Jhally and Lewis (1992), has applied to the way African-American athletes in Canadian Basketball are constructed by the media as representative of either 'good blacks' or 'bad blacks'. While Wilson (1997) and McKay (1995) have demonstrated that enlightened racism shapes the (re)presentation of African-American athletes in Canadian and American media, it is noteworthy that North American racist practice is borrowed by the BBC when confronted by the presence of an African-American tennis player, when other codes of representation in Wimbledon broadcasts indicate a resistance to transatlantic value systems.

Evocations of England past all but disappear in the filmic retelling of Washington's path through the championship, but the vestiges which remain contrast sharply with the image of Washington presented by the film. While the

fast-paced theme tune from the film *Pulp Fiction* is played, a sequence of camera shots of the scoreboard, interspersed with play, chart Washington's various successes in the championship. The camera shots become increasingly dramatic, with a shot of the scoreboard so close that the writing is illegible, then zooming out at a speed which causes the letters to blur. The explosive pace of the music and camerawork, however, stand in stark relief to the "low-tech" character of the courtside scoreboard used in the sequence in preference to computerised, on-screen graphics. It is notable that Washington is both American and black - later, the film compares his presence in the final with that of Arthur Ashe over twenty years previously. The use of film music inevitably evokes the film, *Pulp Fiction*, a contemporary tale of US gangsters, where black characters feature in central positions. If the musical soundtrack indicates one context in which to consider a black player, the film of Ashe holding the Wimbledon trophy proposes another - Washington has presumably been asked for his comment on that achievement: "That was a great victory for him", constructing a connection between them - yet, the reference serves to underline the exceptional character of the appearance of a black player in the final. Library shots of Washington playing against tennis celebrities - Edberg and Lendl - are replayed, creating a tournament history for Washington, but one in which his unknownness becomes his most remarkable feature: "Well, everyone says Mal because they can't pronounce his name - that's how unknown he is". Film of his brother in interview puts him in a family context, prior to the final representation of his face in the centre of a dollar bill. While a belief in hard work reaping reward is alluded to first by Washington, then by his brother "Work hard. Work hard. And keep working hard. That's the only way you'll get him", the work theme is somewhat undermined by the references to gambling, criminality and, finally, by the graphic image of a dollar bill unfurling and the accompanying assertion that "Win or lose he'll go home with lots of these. For victory, nearly six hundred thousand dollars. Even as runner-up, he'll collect nearly three hundred thousand", words that give a very material interpretation to the Phil Collins song playing simultaneously, "I'm on my way I'm making it". Washington's brother's assertion that his strength "is his heart", borrows from the racist mythology which has sought to suggest that, despite the hard work, the ability of African-American players like Washington is a product of nature, not culture. Finally, the splicing of images of Washington first, playing a shot on the right side of the court, then the left, gives the effect of Washington playing himself, suggesting an interpretation of sport in terms of internal battle, even self-actualisation, so that the final image of Washington's



face imposed this time on the Wimbledon trophy, becomes a possibility affected only by Washington's interior psychological strength.

Several themes are interwoven within the short film - tradition, family, work and money - resulting in ambiguity and contradiction. The attempts to create a black tradition for Washington to exist within places him firmly outside the nostalgic English gentleman tradition into which Rusedski, for instance, found himself co-opted. Vestigial elements of that tradition which do emerge only serve to highlight Washington's distinctness from it. The constant reference, visually, musically and verbally, to Washington's prospective financial rewards make impossible any association with a tradition of amateurism, and even the honesty of his labour is undermined by associations of gambling and gangster movies. The televisual image of Washington is constructed in a way very different to Rusedski - his image is outside, and contrasting with, the nostalgia of Wimbledon, tinged with danger (gangsters) and aspirations for social mobility ("I'm moving up"). Even the battle against the self, a visual sequence regularly invoked for Wimbledon finalists, here contributes further to the sense of Washington having a personal agenda, fighting his own battle, embodying a different American set of cultural values, separate from the history of Wimbledon.

This analysis of the short film of the Wimbledon Men's Singles Finalist, Mal Washington, can be seen to provide certain confirmation of the televisual features highlighted in the analysis of the Rusedski v Sampras match, as well as highlighting possibilities for very different constructions of masculinity within televised sport. The emphasis on close ups and Wimbledon's green and white colour scheme are observable within the transcription of the graphics and imagery of the film. England past is evoked by the distinct Received Pronunciation discernible in accent of the elderly-sounding male commentator. Yet, despite this, or perhaps in contrast with this, the rarity of having a black tennis player in the men's singles final would appear to occasion a markedly different televisual construction than that accompanying Rusedski's Wimbledon appearance. That both players hail originally from North America could perhaps be considered an interesting twist that underlines the difficulty that the nostalgically inspired televisual conventions of Wimbledon have with incorporating black sportsmen into the narrative.

#### 4.6 Analysis of women's tennis: Graf v Sanchez, Wimbledon '96

Having established the effectiveness of transcribing the signifying contents of the five channels of communication identifiable in televised sport, it remains to consider women's tennis. Shelton refers to women's professional tennis as "one of the great success stories of the modern sports world" (1993:275), and, by the implication of the title of her article - "Tennis: hard work paying off" - considers women's tennis to have some degree of parity in exposure and financial reward with men's sport. Televised tennis both features physically active women and attracts a strong female following. To fully understand the gendered address of televised tennis, then, it is necessary to consider the televising of women's tennis alongside men's tennis, in order to ascertain how images of physically active women are negotiated within what has been established to be a nostalgic, romantic narrative in televised tennis.

The match chosen for analysis was the Ladies Singles Final of Wimbledon 1996, broadcast by the BBC on 6th July 1996, between Steffi Graf and Arancha Sanchez Vicario. In keeping with the previously argued contention that both live action and prerecorded film contributes to the construction of meaning in televised sport, examples of both forms were transcribed: a short film of each player, similar to the film of Mal Washington, and the build up to, and commencement of play. In all, approximately ten minutes of prerecorded film, two ten minute periods of build up (punctuated by rain) and ten minutes of match play was transcribed (see Appendix B).

The first film, detailing Graf's path through the championship to the final, begins with the televisual conceit of Graf playing herself, as in the Washington film, accompanied by a music soundtrack playing "I'm going to be a sledgehammer..." That the soundtrack associates Graf with a sledgehammer is intriguing in its range of associations, at once strong and determined, antithetical to traditional portrayals of femininity, whilst simultaneously instrumental, referencing perhaps Graf's reported reliance on a controlling father. The image of Graf's victory the previous year is similarly counterpointed by a shot of her kissing her opponent, and the commentary's invocation of royalty: like the Queen, Graf has had an "annus horribilis", which the film subsequently details. While images of Graf



with her father explore the commonly seen theme of family, here Graf is specifically constructed as "daughter" and victim of both abandonment and injury. Interestingly, this segment of the film ends with her presentation in a traditionally feminine caring role, a good daughter in her father's absence: "she's had time for everyone this year: disabled children, autograph hunters and not least her country's footballers".

The longest clip from Graf's previous matches shows her, not in play, but responding to a male fan in a crowd, who has caused play to halt by shouting a marriage proposal to Graf. The crowd laughs, Date, Graf's opponent, smiles, as does Graf herself. Wade, the female commentator, appears eager for her to reply, which, after a pause, she does, with another question "How much money do you have?", causing an even greater roar of laughter from the crowd.

Clearly a narrative of heterosexual romance is discernible here. Graf is called from the action in which she is engaged, by the offer of engagement of another sort, one with more traditional associations for women. While a marriage proposal is logically inappropriate during a tennis championship, it is given a significant amount of attention by the crowd, the commentators and the players, even to the point of including a recording of the event in a film purporting to summarise Graf's Wimbledon. Of course, the reason for the incident's entertainment potential is its inappropriateness, disrupting the image of Graf and her opponent in action by the insertion of an image of femininity which sport threatens to undermine. That Graf responds at all is an indication of her complicity with a media presentation of herself which establishes her within a romance narrative, but the wording of her response reveals the lack of ease with which Graf, as a successful female athlete, can exist within such a narrative: to suggest she is interested in finding a rich suitor is to construct herself in the role of fortune hunter, a stereotypical, if negatively-charged, feminine role. Yet, Graf has successfully made her own fortune in a way which demolishes the stereotypes of feminine passivity on which the prior conception rests, and a fortune which would undoubtedly outstrip that of her would-be suitor. Her response both evokes stereotyped notions of femininity, to the pleasure of the crowd and commentary team, and demonstrates how she evades them.

The film ends with a series of retrospective scenes of Graf's seven previous victories, accompanied by music from the western film, *The Magnificent Seven*. That the film can go from portraying Graf as romantic heroine to associations

with western heroes, is some indication of the unevenness in the televisual portrayal of sporting femininity.

The short film about Graf's opponent, Sanchez Vicario, relies on similar constructions of player-as-daughter, but additionally exploits national stereotypes, presenting a tom boy femininity (she is shown rolling in the dirt of a clay court) overlaid with allusions to a native hot blood. Initially accompanying slow motion imagery showing Sanchez's grins of determination, the music from Carmen speeds up to a much faster illusion of Sanchez playing herself. The sequence ends with a shot of Sanchez clapping one hand against the head of her racket - the evocation of castanet playing is brought out by the preceding music, and the overall effect, compounded by the voice-over's words: "A bubbly, enthusiastic and instantly likeable character", constructs Sanchez as embodying an unmistakable cliché of Latin temperament. It is interesting, however, that the femininity connoted by the music combine the other elements, Spanishness, spiritedness, determination, charm, into a fatal sexual deviance, almost antithetical to the family theme that comprises the remainder of the film. Aside from shots of an anxious mother in the crowd, the film takes the opportunity to replay shots originally broadcast the previous year of Sanchez's parents cooking a family meal in a Wimbledon house rented for the tournament. Importantly, and in contrast to the work theme evident in the Washington film, Sanchez's interviewer picks up on her appeal to luck as a determining factor in a potential victory: "I just think that a little bit of luck this time and hopefully I'll play as good as I did last year and see if I can win it this year..." "A little bit of luck might swing it for you?" "Oh yeah, I need a little bit...", so that finally, luck is invoked three times.

As the live broadcast of the match commences, luck once more is considered a reason for victory: "...a little matter of £353,000 to the winner approximately half of that to the lady who will not be lucky today". Talk of ladies is conflated by the elderly Received Pronunciation accent of the principal commentator, who conjures up the nostalgia of lawn tennis championships of the Victorian aspirant middle-classes with his references to fudge, the aristocracy present (including reinforcing links to the clergy) and the "little butterflies" in the "tummies" of the officials. Graf and Sanchez are "form horses" - instrumental, like a sledgehammer, an aristocratic theme of breeding is simultaneously evoked, along with connotations of another "feminine appropriate" (Hargreaves, 1994) sport and its associations of sexuality. After curtsying to the royal party, the players



are shown walking to their seats with bouquet, while the commentator enquires of his partner, the former champion, Virginia Wade, of her experience, not of playing, but of receiving the same championship bouquet. The tension between the strength and athleticism of the player and her positioning as a "lady" is evident here. The extended discussion of the bouquet, its colour scheme, the emotions it evokes in the player, alongside the attention paid to the bouquet by the cameras - in the arms of the players, being laid on the courtside seat, the close up of the card amongst the flowers, and the framing of the bouquet on Graf's chair as she walks onto court - emphasises a tradition of English middle class femininity which can be found at the origins of lawn tennis as a companion institution to heterosexual romance (Hargreaves, 1994:54). Lynam's later characterisation of the players' warm-up prior to the rain induced suspension of play as a "little gentle knock-up" fits this image exactly.

The commentator's ongoing construction of the security of England past leads him to consider the role of the press, for whom the players turn for photographs to both sides of the court - "a nice little touch" - as a mysterious but benign organ working in the public interest: "Here from publications all over the world and they'll be bringing us their pictures in tomorrow morning's newspapers and magazines to come". Later, when rain interrupts play, the spectators are similarly constructed as polite and "good natured", having come, mysteriously, from "a long way away".

Flitterman-Lewis, in an article exploring the televising of the Tonya Harding/Nancy Kerrigan ice skating spectacle, alludes to Mulvey's classic essay on "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" to explain the media's fascination with "the inside story", by commenting via Mulvey, that "Sadism demands a story" (Mulvey, in Flitterman-Lewis, 1995:167). While Mulvey's work in relation to the televising of tennis will be more fully discussed later, suffice it to note at present the sadism of the Graf's injury storyline. Having played a big part in the pre-recorded film, the commentator continues to mention her injury, obsessively searching for signs of a bandage on her knee: "But I see without that little strapping on her knee unless it's a flesh coloured one, yes it is, I think, that is less obvious on the left knee". Later, Virginia Wade describes the pit falls of playing on grass - wrist strain - pointing to a band around Graf's wrist, which the camera helpfully zooms in on, and comments at length on Graf's punishing yearly schedule. Then the strapping on the left knee is discussed once again, this time in clinical detail: "I think it's to keep the patella up, not let it - erm - hurt the

tendon that she's damaged". Similarly, when the rain suspends play, the commentator hopes "Steffi doesn't think back to that awful day when she played Laurie McNeill on a much worse day than this, actually, and lost", pessimism interestingly countered by Wade's memory of a win under worse conditions.

While a class- and nationally specific version of femininity is constructed by the visuals and commentary, there is much to contradict that image. Statistics are an important feature of the build-up to play and can be considered an aspect of a masculine address (see chapter 5). The picture they present is one of sustained athletic success, and a sense of fierce competition is evoked by the "head to head" graphic, detailing Graf and Sanchez's previous tournament encounters. Both players are heard grunting and groaning with the effort of play, and while the commentators emphasise her injuries, it is clear that Graf is inured to them. Sanchez is described as "determined", and, most unladylike, is seen blowing her nose on her Wimbledon towel.

#### 4.7 Mulvey's "Afterthoughts" and Ambivalence in the Televising of Women's Tennis

Duncan and Hasbrook (1988) suggested that the televising of women's surfing could best be described as "ambivalent" (14), since the commentary, with its descriptions of the women as strong and capable, was contradicted by graphics which portrayed them as passive, decorative objects. Contradictions similarly occur in the televising of the Graf v Sanchez match. The work of Laura Mulvey has already been invoked as a source of potential illumination in one aspect of the televising of women's sport, and an account of her "axiomatic" (Flitterman-Lewis, 1995:10) article was presented in Chapter One. However, it is a later piece by the same authors, "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' inspired by King Vidor's *Duel in the Sun* (1946)", that appears most useful in theorising the ambivalence of the Graf v Sanchez match.

Within Mulvey's account, the cinematic spectator engages in the dual pleasure of scopophilia and voyeurism. Since looking is conceptualised as active and masculine, and being looked at, passive and feminine, female scopophilia and identification is out of the question for Mulvey. In the article alluded to earlier, Flitterman-Lewis sees fetishism in the way the media portrayed Nancy Kerrigan as feminine icon, and voyeurism in their attempt to unearth, sadistically, the



"truth" of Tonya Harding's nonconformist life away from the cameras. Mulvey says that

...fetishistic scopophilia...builds up the physical beauty of the object...voyeurism, on the contrary, has associations with sadism: pleasure lies in ascertaining guilt...This sadistic side fits well with narrative. Sadism demands a story, depends on making something happen, forcing a change in another person, a battle of will and strength, victory/defeat, all occurring in a linear time with a beginning and an end. Fetishistic scopophilia, on the other hand, can exist outside linear time as the erotic instinct is focused on the look alone (1993:119).

Certainly, the 'feminisation' of Graf and Sanchez, with bouquets and curtseys, would accord with Mulvey's conception of fetishisation, while sadistic injury narrative implies voyeurism. On another level, voyeurism can be detected in the televisual construction of the drama of "the final", including camera shots which position the players at either side of the net, opposed to each other, and statistics detailing past "head to heads".

But it is this final point which appears problematic for Mulvey's account: the twin protagonists are both female and active, a situation which could suggest the possibility of subverting the masculinity of the gaze. Since Mulvey, theorists have considered her approach "dark and suffocating" (Van Zoonen, 1994:97), favouring accounts which foreground the possibility of a subversive, i.e. non-patriarchal, gaze. Yet, Mulvey's later article would appear to shed light on the volume of contradictions observable in the televising of Graf v Sanchez match.

In "Afterthoughts", Mulvey responds to questions asked of her use of the male third person singular to stand for spectator, by explaining the predominance of her interest in the relationship between the 'masculinisation' of the spectator position, regardless of the actual sex of real audience members. While she maintains that women in the audience may be 'masculinised' by identifying with the hero, she suggests that the situation of melodrama - when a female character occupies the centre of the narrative arena - is particularly interesting, especially where the protagonist is unable to achieve a stable identity, torn between passive femininity and regressive masculinity. A comparison with the situation of women's tennis, exemplified by the analysis of Graf v Sanchez, is striking, and

Mulvey's examination of a specific melodrama, *Duel in the Sun*, has implications for understanding the match.

For Freud, says Mulvey, libido is neutral with regard to gender, but the insistence of convention on equating masculinity with activity, leads us to consider it masculine. Such a convention also structures popular narrative, so that the reader/listener/spectator is placed with the hero. Freud emphasises the relationship between the ego and the concept of hero, so that despite young boys' realisation that it is unlikely that they will have heroic adventures, their hero populated daydreams describe a male fantasy of ambition "reflecting something of an experience and expectation of dominance" (128). Mulvey finds inconsistency in Freud's assumption that girlish daydreams concentrate on the erotic, since he had suggested that girls experience a masculine "phallic" stage, before the development of adult femininity requires its eventual repression. For Mulvey, the young girl must, too, have active daydreams, yet "all too often, the erotic function of the woman is represented by the passive, the waiting...acting above all as a formal closure to the narrative structure" (128-9).

Mulvey uses the concept of character function from Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* to show up the changing function of "woman" as a narrative signifier and "sexual difference as personification of 'active' or 'passive' elements" (129) in the Western filmic genre. While for Propp, an important aspect of narrative closure is marriage, provided by the character of princess, which thus relates to the sex of the hero and his marriageability, in the Western the function's presence has also come to allow for a complication in the form of "not marriage". If marriage, the resolution of a Proppian tale, can be seen as to represent the resolution of an Oedipal complex (integration into the symbolic), "the rejection of marriage personifies a nostalgic celebration of phallic, narcissistic omnipotence" (129). The Western hero allows for something unknown in the Proppian tale, the splitting of the hero into two: "two functions emerge, one celebrating integration into society through marriage, the other celebrating resistance to social demands and responsibilities, above all those of marriage and the family, the sphere represented by woman" (130). Mulvey describes this hero-splitting by reference to *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, featuring as it does, the integrated law man, Ranse, who mourns the passing of the primitive, Tom. Here, as in Mulvey's earlier work, woman still signifies "the erotic", but when a woman is introduced as central to a story, another kind of narrative discourse is produced, a situation exemplified by *Duel in the Sun*.



Mulvey maintains that, while *Duel in the Sun* looks like a Western, it is really about the central figure, Pearl's interior drama of being caught between two conflicting desires, which corresponds to the Freudian conception of woman as oscillating between "passive" femininity and "regressive" masculinity. The two male characters in the film correlate to the Ranse and Tom characters in *Liberty Valance*, and as such, represent different aspects of her desire and aspiration. The first, Jesse, with his books, dark suit, legal skills, money and culture, is representative of the "correct" choice for Pearl, which would enable her to learn to be a lady, a "sublimation into a concept of the feminine that is socially viable" (131). Lewt, the alternative male character, with a predilection for guns and horses, a contempt for culture, personally strong and powerful, and destined to die an outlaw, offers to Pearl, sexual passion based on a regressive girl/boy mixture of rivalry and play. With him, Pearl can be a tomboy, riding, swimming, shooting. The Oedipal dimension to the story persists, Mulvey says, but now "illuminates the sexual ambivalence it represents for femininity" (132). Importantly, there is no more room for Pearl in Lewt's misogynist, macho world, than there is for her in Jesse's. As a result, then, the film consists of her oscillations in her sexual identity, between "different desperations" (132). There is no stable femininity available for Pearl where "she and the male world can meet" (132):

although the male characters personify Pearl's dilemma, it is their terms that make and finally break her. Once again, however, the narrative drama dooms the phallic, regressive resistance to the symbolic. Lewt, Pearl's masculine side, drops out of the social order. Pearl's masculinity gives her the "wherewithal" to achieve heroism and kill the villain. The lovers shoot each other and die in each other's arms (132).

Mulvey maintains that the situation for the female spectator is more complicated than mourning a lost fantasy of omnipotence, however. The fantasy of "action" that is reactivated against social femininity demands to be repressed, is expressed through a metaphor of masculinity that acts as a strait-jacket, "becoming itself an indicator, a litmus paper, of the problems inevitably activated by any attempt to represent the feminine in patriarchal society" (133). Mulvey concludes by stressing the "sadness" (133) of the female spectator's attempt at masculine identification, dramatised by Pearl.

There have been many critical responses to the conclusions of Mulvey's article, conceiving as it does of a female spectator position as "restless in its transvestite clothes" (133). Yet it is important to consider that for Mulvey, as for Freud, it is cultural convention that places activity with masculinity and passivity with femininity, and the spectator position is a psychic rather than a biological construction. The point is that "woman" is both a sign and a lived experience, something that punctures an otherwise coherent narrative of the entry into the symbolic. Once punctured, however, it is difficult to heal over: a contradiction exists between woman as a sign of passivity, and a physical agent. It is this contradiction which is at the heart of the televising of the Graf v Sanchez match. Graf and Sanchez are televisually constructed as characters in a melodrama not dissimilar to *Duel in the Sun*. Unlike Pearl, of course, they are real people, but as with Pearl, the spectator is offered by the combination of image, voice, sound effects and graphics an opportunity to conceive of them in terms of "correct" femininity - flowers, curtsies, short skirts - or regressive masculinity - head to heads, western references, financial fortunes - neither choice being easily available because of the facts of their physical activity and their femininity. Far from the match being neutrally relayed as actuality television, the tennis players find themselves taking a part in a pre-staged scenario, where they themselves are required to be complicit in their characterisation by the extent to which they conform to the nostalgic dress and behaviour codes. The term, 'player' then begins to take on a different sense, accruing its more dramatic associations, as television stage manages a gendered spectacle, in which sportswomen uneasily fulfil the requirements of their parts.

Van Zoonen (1994) suggests that to conceive of the female spectator as having a latent homosexual desire, stemming from the female child's attachment to the mother which she, unlike the male child, is not forced to overcome, may be one way of escape from the "Oedipal prison house" implicated in psychoanalytic film theory. The female spectator looking at women, then, is always involved in a double desire: "an active homosexual one which is rooted in the bond with her mother and a passive heterosexual one stemming from her identification with woman as object of the male gaze" (93-4). This seems, however, no different from the tensions Mulvey explores, but may answer to the popular ascription of lesbianism associated with female tennis players. It might be considered that Navratilova's public avowal of homosexuality provided some stability to her identity as an active female, but with her retirement, the contradictions return.



If the hero function has proved so important for the televisual narrative of a sport that attracts a large female following, it might be speculated that it will have significance for sports whose address has been traditionally confined to a masculine audience. In this respect the case of motor racing will be illuminating. Yet, tennis and motor racing are both individual sports, and as football is sport with a traditional male following which, while it can feature isolated heroes, consistently presents a hero-team, it will be considered next.

## Chapter Five: Televised Football and Masculine Style

Football has been unhesitatingly proclaimed as England's "most popular team sport" (Cricher, 1994:77), but its appeal has traditionally been limited to men (47% professed an interest in watching it in 1989, Barnett 1990:103). Recently, however, there has been some indication that the numbers of female spectators, if not players, may begin to take on significant proportions. Television is said to have played a large part. Williams has suggested that women were captivated by the drama of the television presentation of the 1990 World Cup: "Twenty eight million people in this country watched England's semi-final, and half of them were believed to be women. I think that had a big influence on female support" (in Rowbottom, 1995:22). Yet, while numbers may be slowly rising, only one in eight spectators at live matches is estimated to be female (Rowbottom, 1995:22), and nine out of ten English supporters in Italy for the World Cup in 1990 were young, white males (Williams and Woodhouse, 1991). Morley (1986) and Gray's (1987) important observations on the gendering of television programme choice (in that it is likely to be dominated by the preferences of men and children when they are home) go a long way towards accounting for large audience figures among women on the occasion of this or similar tournaments, if the spectacle alone is not enough. Similarly, it is necessary to be critical of an overdependence on television audience figures to ascribe active, attentive and pleasurable viewing to audience members who may merely be in the room. To take televised (soccer) football as an example of sports media text which addresses a masculine-identified audience is, importantly, not to deny a female presence within its audience. After all, Woodhouse (1991) has found resistance to changes which threaten to "feminise" football culture among female football fans. This chapter intends to elicit from a detailed analysis of a televised football match those features by which an audience, male or female, may recognise itself as addressed by the text. The origins of football in the historical construction of, first, middle class, then working-class, masculinity, and the contemporary greater and more sustained support for football amongst a male population, are indications of the masculine character of its address. To better understand any rise in female football spectatorship or even fandom, an exploration of what exactly constitutes the address of televised football (or what women are watching when they are watching football) is essential.



A precedent in analysing football on television as a media text was set by Buscombe's BFI Television Monograph in 1975. Buscombe, Ryall, Barr, McArthur and Tudor each took aspects of the televising of the 1974 World Cup, from scene-setting in the Radio Times and TV Times, to analysis of cultural and televisual codes in the title sequences, the make-up of the expert panels and comparison of English and German televisual styles. Buscombe's analysis has been useful as a point of reference both to inform my own method of analysis and to compare change over time, an elucidation of which forms the first part of the chapter. In discussing how televised football might be said to constitute a masculine address, it has been illuminating to consider Easthope's (1990) delineation of three aspects of masculine style in film and popular journalism. The second part of the chapter looks at ways televised football could be seen to fit into Easthope's schema. Finally, the work of Gilligan on the gendering of psychological developmental theories will be discussed in an attempt to further identify masculine style in televised football.

## 5.1 Analysis of Euro '96: England v Holland, ITV 18th June 1996

Seiter's (1992) adaptation of Metz, suggested that five channels of communication exist, often simultaneously, in television: graphics, image, voice, sound effects and music. In an attempt to capture all signifying elements within these channels, whilst retaining the simultaneity and time elapse, each aspect of the television text occurring in the first twenty-five minutes of the football match chosen for analysis, England v Holland (shown as part of Euro '96 on ITV, Tuesday June 18, 1996), was transcribed. The text was then reassembled in a format which allows the content of all five channels of communication to be shown simultaneously, and sequentially, making possible the inference of time elapse, which, in considering most spoken comment and analysis is given at moderate speed, is lent accuracy by reference to the "Voice" column. This first-order analysis is presented in Appendix C.

During the process of transcription, it became noticeable that there was much more visual and sonic activity to transcribe than there was during the tennis matches. Unlike the BBC's coverage of Wimbledon, ITV's Euro '96 coverage permitted sponsor's advertising at the commencement of the transmission and at either end of the commercial breaks, which had the effect of increasing the presence of on-screen graphics, images and music as they comprised the

sponsor's logo and promotional sequences. There was, in addition, an ITV Sport logo sequence, a Euro '96 logo, several introductory pieces of film which used graphically manipulated images, graphic lists of team members and their positions, advertisements during the commercial breaks, advertisements around the pitch, logos on players' clothes and boots, and a constant digital clock and score line visible on screen once play had begun. During the match, whenever a noteworthy incident, such as a foul, a corner or a goal, occurred, the players involved would be shown in close up, while their number, name, position and age appeared graphically at the bottom of the screen. This information was flanked by, on the left, a graphic flag denoting national side, and, on the right, the Euro '96 logo. Much use was made of colour: the blue sky, white clouds and green fields first seen in the opening sequence reappeared in the background to the team statistics, and in the blue background stripe beneath individual players' names, while the orange of the Dutch kit appeared in the graphic lettering featured in a short film ostensibly discussing the merits of the side. A great deal of activity similarly occurred in the soundtrack. The music that accompanied the sponsor's advertising sequence, although originally indistinguishable, gradually became identifiable as an electronic version of "Jerusalem" which played throughout the opening sequence and re-emerged to herald the start and finish of the commercial breaks. Music of various styles, from operatic to pop, via yodelling, was used to accompany film sequences to indicate mood, and taped music being played to the crowd could be heard from the stadium while the studio panel discussed the likely outcome before play began. Equally important, however, was the sound of the crowd which was constant throughout the play and ranged from singing in accompaniment to taped pop music and national anthems, chants, cheers, boos and whistles. Over this noise, the commentators' voices could be heard.

The televising of football, as evidenced by ITV's Euro '96 coverage, can only be described as amounting to communicative excess. The transcription of the simultaneous content of the five communication channels presented in Appendix C was, therefore, challenging but illuminating, since consideration of each channel in isolation from the others would miss the significance of the interrelationship of sound and image in football coverage. Equally important is a consideration of the array of short items, interspersed with advertisements, which could be said to constitute the "flow" (Williams, 1974) of televised football, wherein each moment of television will be affected by what precedes and follows



it. During the thirty minutes of the England v Holland football match I transcribed, the flow could be described as follows:

1. ITV Sport logo;
2. Sponsor's sequence ;
3. Introductory sequence featuring fans and football celebrities, pastoral scenes and sequences from the championship so far, accompanied by the music of "Jerusalem";
4. Studio presenter (Bob Wilson);
5. Filmed sequence detailing the England team's experience of Euro '96 centring on the uneven fortunes of player, Paul Gascoigne and the surprise draw with Switzerland;
6. Expert panel in studio (John Barnes, Jack Charlton, Bob Wilson): discussion of team line-ups and film of Dutch fans;
7. Humorous film of the characteristics of the Dutch team;
8. Film of the England captain, Tony Adams and player, Gareth Southgate individually assessing strategies;
9. Sponsor's sequence;
10. Commercial break: Adidas football boots; BAA duty-free shopping; Mercury mobile telephones; Fugi photographic film; Mercury telephones; Rover cars; Play station and Adidas Power Soccer computer game; Mercury telephones; BAA; Lucozade sport drinks;
11. Sponsor's sequence;
12. Expert panel discussion in studio over pictures of the crowd in the stadium and teams emerging onto pitch;
13. Voices of commentators (Brian Moore, Kevin Keegan) while shots of the pitch are shown where players line up and national anthems are sung and team members are introduced via loud speakers;
14. Match begins and play and commentary continue to end of transcription..

I have presented in figure 5.1 below, several segments of the first order semiotic analysis of the match corresponding to those numbered 1 - 3 above and part of 14, i.e. the opening sequence and an example of the representation of match play (the first order analysis is presented in full in Appendix C), and an interpretation follows. Later in the chapter, the first order analysis of segment 5 is presented prior to its interpretation.

Figure 5.1 Shot-by-shot analysis of opening sequence (segments 1 - 3) and match play (segment 14) England v Holland, Euro '96, ITV (18/6/96)

Graphics  
ITV Sport logo (on blue)

Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
Screen splits into two panels:- a)main picture; b) image mirrored in side panel occupying 1/5 screen, depicting a series of players tackling others from the side, which result in collisions, with one or both players falling.		Crowd cheers and gasps. Amplified thuds of ball being kicked.	Indistinguishable instrumental music
"SIDE IMPACT THE VECTRA FROM VAUXHALL (logo) OFFICIAL SPONSOR Euro '96 (logo) England"			
White cliffs under blue sky. Blue sky. Blue sky merges into scene showing a crowd of faces and waving union jack flags; England players (from 1966 - holding cup - and present day: arms raised in victory). Woman waving "Scotland" banner; footballer holding cup; cup itself against blue sky background England team member hugging another in tears; England team member kicking ball		Crowd cheering.	Volume rises to crescendo then continues with a slow, but pronounced beat.





Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
Euro '96 logo football	ball towards camera which turns into Euro '96 football shooting towards audience. Full screen: crowd; player with red shirt over head; (England v Scotland)player in England strip scoring goal; player in England strip running arms outstretched (in victory). Wembley stadium under blue skies.			
Euro '96 logo football descends from top of screen to rest in centre of-->-->-->-->-->-->Aerial view of stadium football explodes, reformulating Euro '96				Builds to final crescendo & ends.
[Opening sequence ends]				
[...]				
[Match play begins]	Insert disappears. Normal shot: pitch with players in position, zooming slowly in to Close shot: kick off.	Moore: "Well, the Dutch with their famous orange shirts will be kicking off. It's almost like a home game for them - their fans are absolutely incredible here. Kevin was saying just before we came on air, it must be 50/50 Dutch	Volume returns: crowd in stadium cheering and applauding and singing.	
	Close shot: Dutch player passing.			



Graphics	Normal shot. Image	and English as far as the fans are Voice	Sound effects	Music
		concerned. And remember, it's not since 1982 have the English beaten the Dutch. Here's Jordi Cruyff, cut out by Ince, but Winter's there, plays his football in Lazio, a great pal of Paul Gascoigne's. Seedorf. This is - er - a promising chance here for the Dutch, with de Boer, Cruyff again, Seedorf, England being pinned back at the moment. Seedorf, flicking the ball out there to the tall outside left, Hoekstra and a goal kick for England. The unflappable David Seaman, a hero of course on Saturday with that wonderful penalty save against Scotland that turned the whole game. I think even he's been amazed by the amount of publicity he's been getting over the last couple of days, but it won't...	Whistles.	
	Close shot: Hoekstra. Close shot: Seaman.		Referee's whistle.	
(flag)"David Seaman" (euro logo) "Goalkeeper Age 33" (across bottom of screen)			"E-N-G-L-A-N-D" chants.	
	Normal shot.			
(flag)"NETHERLANDS V. ENGLAND(flag)" "commentators BRIAN MOORE AND KEVIN KEEGAN" (on two strips, centred at bottom of screen) (bottom half of graphic flips over to reveal, as if written on reverse:) "EXCLUSIVELY LIVE FROM WEMBLEY STADIUM"				
	Close shot: Adams with ball.			"I've got a feeling, Kevin, we're going

Graphics	Normal shot. Image	to have a real edge of the seat ... here	Sound effects	Music
(time elapsed)"Netherlands 0-0 England" (Score appears at top left of screen, and ITV Sport logo at top right)		<b>Voice</b> tonight" Kevin: "Yeah, there's absolutely no reason why we shouldn't - both teams can relax a little bit, Brian, the fact that England are playing the same side for the third game on the trot..." Moore: "Here's Shearer, Sheringham's waiting in the middle, it's inch-perfect, no, it's not, I thought it was coming across from	Sigh	
	Close shot: Shearer. Close shot: Van Der Ser. Normal shot.	Sheringham, but not and look at this for a break from Alan Winter, with Bergkamp, who scored twice against England in his last two games. Free kick to the Dutch.	Crowd's roar increases and turns to applause.	
	Close shot: Bergkamp, on ground, fouled by Paul Ince. Full shot: Bergkamp and referee. Close shot: Ince.	"Ince already on a yellow card, remember, from a previous game and, well, we know all about Dutch free chants: kicks from the edge of penalty areas and certainly David Seaman will from that memorable night in Rotterdam, 1993. It looks to...Witschge's going to be the man who's going to have a crack at it here, no Ronald Kulmer(?)	Referee's whistle.	"oh England, we love you"
	Close shot: Bergkamp, standing. Normal shot: goal, zooming out.		Crowd whistles.	
	Normal shot: closer. Close shot: Seedorf. Normal shot: from above wall of players forming in front of			



Graphics	England goal. Image	here, of course, now Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Full shot: Witschge.	Ronald de Boer is close at hand as well, and it's	Loud crowd murmur as shot is taken, roar after.	
	Close shot: Witschge.	no problem in the end for England. Keegan: "Yeah, a dangerous place to give away a free kick against anyone, but especially the Dutch, Brian, because they really do seem to pack a few players who've got punches - actually he .... this so well it keeps rising, it doesn't trouble David Seaman at all"		
	Replay: free kick from above and behind goal.	Moore: "Just a quick reminder England need a win or a draw to put them into the quarter finals . That would leave them at the top of their group. They would play here on Saturday against Spain who finished second in group D.		
"(flag)Richard WITSCHGE(flag)Close shot: Witschge. Midfield Age: 27" (on strip at bottom of screen) (disappears)	Full shot: Seaman's goal kick.		Crowd singing:	"We love you, England, we do...oh, England we love you"
	Normal shot. Close shot: Sheringham's header.			
	Normal shot. Close shot: Reiziger. Close shot: referee.	All sorts of permutations with this game going on here and the one up in Villiers Park between Scotland and Switzerland by the end of the night as it unfolds we may well need our calculators and a lot of mental agility as well. Blind, so important to the Dutch at the back, clearer.		
"(logo)Gerd Grabner AUSTRIA(flag)"	Normal shot.		Crowd's singing is	"...England we love you"

## 5.2 Changing times? Comparisons to Buscombe's Football on Television

It is illuminating to compare the analysis of 1996 international football on British television to Buscombe's analysis conducted over twenty years previously. A review of this research is presented, therefore, with a view to underlining how far the conventions for televising football have changed during this time.

The methods used by Buscombe and Ryall (1975) have been influential in shaping my analysis of Euro '96, and while I have adapted aspects of their approach, I have also addressed certain of their shortcomings. Buscombe, for example, included a detailed account of two title sequences in his discussion of the cultural and televisual codes operative in the televising of the World Cup, supplemented with selected black and white still photographs from a television screen. While selected colour photographs from the opening sequence of Euro '96 (segment numbered 3 above), the short film (segment 5) and the match (segment 14) are presented in Appendix A, the importance I attached to avoiding the privileging of either the image over the sound or the sound over the image in my analysis of the televising of the England v Holland match led to my presentation of all five channels of communication identifiable during the match in the format represented by figure 5.1 above. Buscombe's analysis was structured around three aspects of television where codes were observable: images; graphics; sound. Scant attention, however, was paid to codes of sound, which, within the title sequences, consisted of music, and his discussion was thereby confined to aspects of the television image: colour; speed; definition; framing; camera movement and placing, and editing. Activity including colour, framing and camera movement are all documented in the graphics and image columns of my first-order analysis of Euro '96 (see figure 5.1 and Appendix B), but activity in the soundtrack was given greater attention in my approach, being represented by three separate columns corresponding to the signifying channels of voice, sound effects and music.

Ryall (1975) elaborated further on Buscombe's account, by focusing on the visual style in the televising of the 1974 World Cup match, Scotland v Yugoslavia. A useful contribution was his identification of four shot types used during the match:



1. Primary Image - shots from a camera in the grandstand, half-way up, in line with the half-way line, constituting the normal view of the game;
2. Secondary Image A - shots from a camera in the same position, offering a closer view of the action;
3. Secondary Image B - shots from cameras positioned behind each goal, for goal mouth action and "action replays";
4. Secondary Image C - shots from cameras on the touch line near the half-way line for images on the trainer's bench, the substitutes, and so on.

To these, Ryall adds a fifth shot type, Secondary Image D, which could include shots from any or all of the above positions used to provide general images of the spectators and the ground.

Using a notation based on these shot categories, Ryall (1975) offered a transcription of visual sequences occurring in the match, accompanied by time elapsed during each shot (in seconds). Shot types become: NS or Normal Shot - the primary image; CS or Close Shot - a shot from the Secondary Image A camera; GS or Goal Shot - from the Secondary Image B camera, and BS or Bench Shot - Secondary Image C.

Ryall's (1975) categorisation of standard camera shots for televising football has informed my own transcription, although the increased number of cameras in operation made it impossible to reliably specify the origin of all shots. In 1975 Buscombe noted televised football's lack of the type of close-up shots that he suggested to be characteristic of drama, offering technical impossibility by way of explanation, since players moved at speed across, not toward, the face of the camera. As a result, most shots were:

either of about one-eighth of the pitch or of one or two players, their bodies more or less filling the frame from top to bottom. Anything closer than the latter or further away than the former is very rare (1975:30).

During the televising of Euro '96, however, shots were often closer than the whole figure shots (full shots) reported by Buscombe, and so I relied generally on the schema: close shot, full shot and long shot, to report most of the activity within the image field. This was supplemented by goal shot and normal shot, once the match had begun, using normal shot to refer to any shot from a camera intending to follow the flow of the game, "sufficiently close to the play to enable

a comprehensible image to be formed...and far enough away from the immediate action to give some sense of its context" (Ryall, 1975:38). Unlike Ryall, I have not always attempted to describe the play itself, since the transcribed commentary gives some indication, and my intention was to analyse the televising of football, rather than football itself. This corresponds with Buscombe's concern to distinguish between three types of what he called "pro-filmic event": a) events which exist independently outside the control of television (e.g. the football); b) events produced expressly for inclusion in a television broadcast (studio shots, for example), and c) graphics (including lettering, abstract designs and cartoons). Further reflection caused Buscombe to consider the distinction between the first two types of event to be at best difficult to make, since television has been known to affect many kinds of originally independent event, so that actuality and fiction become blurred. This observation of the tendency of televised sport to blur the distinction between actuality and fiction is central to my analysis, but I would go further than Buscombe and suggest, following my arguments in Chapter 2, that within the televisualisation of sport, what constitutes actuality constantly recedes, so that television is unable to neutrally relay the 'pro-filmic' objective world. Instead, I consider that all aspects of televised sport are subject to construction, and intertextuality in televised sport - the "use of language that calls up a vast reserve of echoes from similar texts, similar phrasings, remarks, situations, characters" (Coward and Ellis, in Jensen, 1995:120) - allows for the generation of meaning to take place without the necessary participation or intention of the producers of televised sport, which in this case can include the commentators, the players and the advertisers.

Comparing BBC and ITV title sequences in 1975, Buscombe focused on the use of graphics to distinguish between the two, since the camera shots within both title sequences were derived from the same German television coverage. Buscombe observed that ITV included more graphics and studio shots than the BBC, something that could be related to a conception of itself as a more "popular" channel, with an audience more responsive to vicarious patriotism (i.e. transposed to interest in Scotland's fate), which it was trying harder to mobilise:

Their titles also employed a tartan motif in the graphics (which was replaced by orange, the colour of Holland, with rather indecent haste once Scotland were removed from the competition). And in the programmes themselves ITV were franker in their chauvinism, the panel coming out in a rash of tartan jackets and rosettes (1975:23).



As previously observed, ITV's Euro '96 coverage relied on an extensive use of graphics, and in an echo of the tartan motif noted by Buscombe in 1975, graphics (like players' statistics) were underlain with images which had occurred originally in the title sequence, and comprised a theme: white clouds in blue sky, above green tops of white cliffs or green fields and distant mountains. By contrast, the BBC Euro '96 coverage appeared more sombre, with less use of graphics, which, when present were overlaid on solid colour. A similar difference was observable in the two channels' use of theme tune: a markedly patriot and populist, synthesised "Jerusalem" on ITV, compared with the controversial, but distinctly European flavour, of Beethoven's ninth symphony, *Ode to Joy*, from the BBC.

Buscombe remarks on the lack of non-naturalistic colour in televising football, with colour at all times approximating the natural, the grass being shown as green and the sky as blue, for example, suggesting a claim to be real. He notes different subcodes at work in the title sequences, however, where non-naturalistic colours were used, leading him to suspect that the World Cup programmes constituted a mixed genre. Similarly, the neglect of the technical possibilities of television in its broadcasting of football, adding further to the effect of realism, is reversed within the title sequences, which, for Buscombe, betrays the producers' view of the programmes as more than football: football plus show business, designed to appeal to those who like light entertainment as well as those who like football. In terms of framing, long shots show play between individuals and goals, while closer shots show individual effort, in almost every case focusing on a star player. This, Buscombe believes, reflects the emphasis within the programme on stars and goals, or goal mouth action, which he says, "is not necessarily the whole of what football is about" (1975:30).

Similarly, in Euro '96, while non-naturalistic colours abound in the opening sequences, short pre-match films and graphics which show the players' statistics, the televisualisation of the match itself conforms to realist conventions of naturalistic colour. The football-plus-showbusiness feel to the sequences prior to the match which endures from 1975 to 1996 compounds the populism of ITV's address - during segment 5 (as outlined above, and represented in figure 5.2) graphics imitating tabloid newspaper cuttings pass over the screen, clearly indicating an address to the readership of the papers to which the featured headlines belonged.

Buscombe observes that the camera positions - on one side of the pitch, approximately on the half-way line - are in accord with the 180° rule of classic realist cinema (dictating that, if two people are placed opposite each other and the camera is showing them from one side, the director may not cut to a shot showing the characters from the opposite side). Such a position, Buscombe suggests, is the simulated eye view traditionally associated with an older, richer, and more neutral football spectator seated in the stands at the half-way line (standing spectators would go to either end of the stadium). As for editing style, rapid cuts between shots (borrowed from Hollywood conventions signifying excitement) characterise the title sequences, Buscombe maintains, restricted to simple cuts only during the match, further promoting the effect of realism.

What must be most remarkable in a comparison of the results of Buscombe and Ryall's (1975) observations and my own, are the minimal differences in televisual style, despite a time lapse of over twenty years. The conventions of realism already grounded in televising football in 1975, remain fairly unchanged today. The number of cameras covering a match may have increased (the BBC uses a studio equipped with eighteen outside source monitors for sports broadcasts), but their positions (in the stands, behind the goals, or handheld on the touch line) are the same. For the most part, the 180° rule still holds: it was breached once in England v Holland, when both teams were lined up immediately prior to the singing of the English national anthem, when the teams were shot first by a camera facing them, and then from a camera behind them, positioned in the stand opposite. Notably this exception occurred before the match began, and was not repeated afterwards.

### 5.3 Invention of tradition in Euro '96

One notable gap in Buscombe's analysis, is the limited attention he considers it possible to pay to sound, particularly music, as a field of signification. Lacking tools beyond the use of impressionistic adjectives like "happy" or "sad", Buscombe goes only so far as to state that there clearly are codes operative in music, for example:

On both the BBC and ITV the World Cup signature tunes were loud, fast, excited, indicating that what we were about to see would be thrilling (1975:23).



As with the image, Buscombe is confident that there must be technical codes governing sound production, as well as cultural codes governing our reading of the kind of music that is played, yet,

although in the titles all these codes operate (whatever the range of possibilities may be, a choice is made as to the speed and volume of the music), at the level of the sound track and in respect of these codes or the audience they do not seem nearly as important as the image track. But here we may very easily be mistaken, because the whole point about codes, [...], is that they are most often not consciously employed. Technical practices have become naturalised ... and thus one is all too likely to be unaware that there is any codification at all. This may well be the case with sound (1975:24).

Wanting to avoid the possibility of making a mistake by ignoring the significance of sound, I have made the effort to record all activity within the field of sound occurring during the Euro '96 extract, including voice, sound effects and music. Sound is present throughout the titles, discussion and match, and can often combine voice, sound effects and music (the roar of the crowd, singing to taped music in the stadium can be heard beneath the voices of the experts in the studio), and a low hum from the crowd, breaking into cheers and sighs, is a constant feature, so constant that it is possible to not notice it at all.

The opening sequence of the England v Holland match includes music and sound effects. Accompanying the images and graphics of an advertisement for Vauxhall Vectra, the Euro '96 sponsor, are the sounds of gasps from a football crowd, amplified thuds of a ball being kicked, and synthesised music. The tune is not recognisable at first, but after a series of shots of England fans and players (from both 1966 and the present), at a point when images of England players become intercut with images of players from other European teams, and symbolic references to Englishness become more overt, the tune becomes discernible as a synthesised Jerusalem, to which a heavy beat has been added.

The use of Jerusalem is interesting in that it does not coincide with identifiable footballing traditions. Intended to function as patriotic propaganda during the first world war, it was written in 1916 under directions from the organisation, "Fight for Right", by Hubert Parry, who retained a degree of ambivalence about



its jingoistic purpose (Dibble, 1992). The song is a musical appropriation of the first verses of Blake's *Milton*, written nearly a century earlier, a poem which resists the complacent glorification of Englishness which the music lends it by virtue of the circumstances of its origins, the insistence that it be "suitable, simple music" (Bridges, in Dibble, 1992:483), and its resultant regular, processional and emphatic character. Rather than suggest that England is a country blessed by the observable presence of God, which must, therefore, be defended from alien attack, Blake's lines would appear to be concerned with inspiring an internal struggle to oust the very clear evidence of Satan from within England itself. Importantly, the words of *Jerusalem* are missing from the opening sequence, yet images from the poem (with the exception of Satanic mills) appear not only in the medley of accompanying shots, but throughout the broadcast within the graphics as a background to the teams' and players' statistics. Green fields, mountains and cloudy skies are supplemented with other clichéd images of England: church spires, babbling brooks, and, referencing a song from a different war, white cliffs. On reflection, the use of *Jerusalem* would seem remarkably inappropriate, for, although almost 50% of the army volunteers were recruited through football organisations in 1914, football was widely considered an unpatriotic sport after the war, on the grounds that organised football, unlike rugby, had not ceased with the declaration of war (Walvin, 1975). The working-class dominance of the game prior to the first world war through professionalisation, may have had as much to do with the public schools' move away from football to embrace Rugby Union as their winter sport, as had patriotism. The association of *Jerusalem* with the sponsoring advertiser and its extension into both the opening images and the intermittent graphics during the broadcast not only ignores the social tensions which made football a working-class game, but inscribes a very different history, one with appeal to an aspirant and patriotic new middle class, among whom prospective consumers of Vauxhall Vectras are most likely to be found.

The phenomenon Tudor described as "world cup world" in 1975, whereby television presents and peoples worlds of its own construction, exploiting stereotypes to create a "framework of conventions and images which are assumed to inform the perceptions of the audience" (Tudor, 1975:60), remains in evidence in the "Euro '96 world" of ITV Sport. Yet, the constant use of nostalgic clichés in 1996 takes on a tone possibly very different from their evocative potential in 1975. *Jerusalem* is electronically synthesised, the images of old England merge with computer graphics, a knowingness is apparent in deliberate references to



England's historic world cup victory in 1966: it is impossible to disregard an ironic humour in contemporary use of national stereotypes. The extent to which such humour changes their address, however, will be discussed later, along with other aspects of television sport "banter". However, it is important to observe the correspondence between the invention of tradition that the use of "Jerusalem" in sound and image signifies in Euro '96, and the similar invention of tennis tradition by the extensive use of green in the graphic and image channels of the BBC's televising of Wimbledon. Theme tunes accompanying the opening sequence of Wimbledon regularly feature signifiers of England past - brass bands, for example - and the commentators' insistence that players conform to the code of the gentleman amateur, have echoes in the reinscription of a mythical heritage in ITV's Euro '96 coverage. Television's invention of tradition in sport broadcasting is an important part of its address to its audience, an address in which audience members are asked to recognise themselves as inheritors of a tradition informed by class, gender and national considerations. And as the use of "Jerusalem" disrupts a classic association of football with a working-class male address, and replaces it with an address to an aspiring middle class patriot - the potential purchaser of international flights, mobile phones, Rovers and Vauxhall Vectras - this new address conforms to what King (1997) has referred to as the new consumers of football (undoubtedly predominantly male but perhaps increasingly incorporating females). King (1997) makes the point that the unevenness of the history of football has meant that invention has always had a role to play in football's tradition. Yet historical associations in the televisualisation of football and tennis are presented as anything but invention. By contrast, a familiarity with facts and figures from football's past is a prerequisite of fanship. Sport's mythical histories are arguably part of the "style of truth" that Easthope (1990) identifies as an element of a masculine address: rather than being presented as myths, these histories are part of an unquestionable truth which surrounds sport, and which television's construction of sport is informed by and perpetuates. While "truth" or "clarity" is considered by Easthope (1990) to be one aspect of masculine style, "banter" and "obscenity" are two further elements, and all three can be identified in the televising of the England v Holland match. This next section looks more closely at the operation of clarity in the televisualisation of Euro '96 and discusses how far banter and obscenity could be said to characterise ITV's coverage.

## 5.4 Elements of Masculine style

Easthope (1990) outlines three varieties of what he considers to be "masculine style" in speech and writing: clarity; banter and obscenity. Although not restricted to the written and spoken word, Easthope's categories still have considerable application to televised football, and it is illuminating to consider each in turn.

For Easthope, "a style of apparently plain statement of truth without obvious personal bias is a masculine style", because

it goes along with the masculine ego and its desire for mastery. Truth in this style is presented as something to be fully known, seen in complete detail. Once again the idea of vision is supposedly as "clear" as water, as "transparent" as glass (1990:81).

The transparent style fetishises truth, disavowing the contingency of meaning, by treating itself as invisible "not really a style at all" (1990:82). Meaning is presented as "fixed, free-standing, closed round on itself", and truth as "objective and impersonal, something revealed once and for all and so there to be mastered and known" (82).

Techniques which give the effect of realism were identified by Buscombe in 1975, and remain contemporary characteristics of televised football. The 180° rule, the naturalistic colours and simple editing techniques are still there. Additionally, on-screen graphics displayed group and team statistics, team lists, diagrams, and, occasionally, players' names, ages and positions. The association of statistics and graphic illustrations with the knowledge claims of scientific discourse, allow their omnipresence in televised football to be considered an important aspect of its appeal to clarity.

Within the Euro '96 coverage I transcribed and analysed, however, two pre-match short films, the first primarily concerned with Paul Gascoigne's uneven reputation and the other, a summation of the main characteristics of England's opponents, Holland, fully exploited the audiovisual possibilities of television, thereby departing from the dominant effect of realism. The second film was



particularly striking in its use of non-naturalistic colours including footballing scenes which were tinted orange. The soundtrack of both films was dominated by rock music, with selected sound effects and voices, and computer graphic techniques enabled, in the first film, text to appear in the style of newspaper headlines passing over the screen, and in the second, bright orange letters to appear, move around and disappear from the screen dramatically. Such techniques were, markedly, not in evidence during the match itself, where realist conventions presided. Buscombe's 1975 contention that televised football is a mixed genre might provide an explanation, as might the elaboration of further aspects of masculine style.

Football, as a rule-bound activity, can itself be seen as an appeal to clarity. Discussions of studio experts and commentators are almost exclusively concerned with clarifying whether play was or was not within the rules, the presence of the latter restricting the decision to a binary choice. The justice of the outcome is the overriding concern of rule-bound activities, as such, success can be *seen* to be the result of merit, causing Stuart to say of football: "The game equalises individuals from dramatically differing backgrounds; by the same token, it helps to equalise large and small nations" (1995:40). On the same theme, Sugden and Tomlinson have suggested that football is "physiologically democratic": "You do not have to be a particular shape, size or physique in order to excel at soccer" (1994:4). Unearned advantage neither determines success nor access to the game. Walvin explains the "basic attraction" of football, over other sports, to working-class boys and adult promulgators of the game in the nineteenth century, as being "the ease with which it could be organized and played, in most urban areas, with indeterminate numbers" (1987:256), the same reason given by Sugden (1994) for its rapid spread around the world.

Contradictions, however, do exist. If rules guarantee fair play, the same faith that those rules will be enforced without bias is not a characteristic of football talk, as exemplified by studio discussions and match commentary. During the England v Holland match, the referee's decisions were continually dissected by the commentary team, who offered an additional judgement as to the fairness or unfairness of his action. Appealing to the clarity of vision to determine the truth of alleged rule infraction, a discourse exists within football talk which seeks to continually reinforce the possibility of certainty by isolating elements which could undermine it. The execution of authority, not authority itself, is in question, resting as it does on the uncertainty of the "human element", the

referee, whose decisions in football are not always presumed right in the way, for example, that tennis commentators, from my observations, seem to find it impossible to doubt the umpire. As in tennis, the action replay is employed, invoking the power of the gaze once more to provide the ultimate testimony, as when, at the end of the extract transcribed, correctness of the referee's decision to award a goal kick rather than a corner is adjudged in the following way:

Image	Voice	Sound effects
Normal shot.	Moore: "Right, here's Gascoigne. Makes space for Shearer. Can he make good use of it? Trying to get the ball in. He gets a corner off Danny Blind. No, it just seems to flick back. Well, Shearer can't understand that decision, but a goal kick's been given"	Crowd noise at volume.
Close shot: Shearer in bewildered open-palm gesture. Close shot: Blind. Close shot: Gascoigne. Replay.	Keegan: "That's Reiziger" Moore: "That's Reiziger, yes" Keegan: "[...] leave 'em at home, Brian"	Whistles.
Close shot: Shearer. [(flag) 9 Alan SHEARER (logo) Forward Age: 26]	Moore: "Should have been a corner.	
Normal shot.	Just listen to the crowd getting behind England now"	E-N-G-L-A-N-D chants

During the rest of the match, every occasion on which the referee showed a player a yellow card drew comment from the commentators, often extended analysis. After Witschge is given a yellow card for a foul arising from a late tackle on McManaman from behind, Kevin Keegan observes:

Keegan: "A lot of players have been booked for a lot less than that so far in this tournament...

"In the old days, Brian, you could have three or four of those before the referee even started to even think about telling you to be careful..."

And when Winter is given a yellow card for obstructing Anderton,

Keegan: "Well, that's football today. This challenge is not half as bad as the one we've just seen from - what's it? - Seedorf. And, er, he's in the book."

Moore: "That's just bad luck."

Keegan: "Nothing malicious, just a bit of - er..."



Moore: "Inconsistency, I think is the word you're looking for."

Keegan: "Yeah, I think so."

Equally, a decision to give Holland a penalty is considered incorrect, the commentators this time considering the crowd's view of events to be more trustworthy than the referee's:

Moore: "How can that possibly be a corner?"

Keegan: "He's too far away from the play. He was two yards away."

Moore: (Chuckling) "Oh dear, dear"

Keegan: "Oh, goodness"

Moore: "That's all referees do when they think they've made a wrong decision. He just clips the back of his heel to say, well, it clipped somebody's heel, but the crowd's boos will tell you. Now, if there's a goal from this, there'll be an inquest."

Keegan: "It'd be an injustice."

[Another corner is given to Holland, while the crowd are still booing]

Moore: "...And the referee knows he has made a mistake by now. 40,000 English [close shot: female fan looking concerned] men can't be wrong. English ladies too..."

Even when the referee's decisions are approved of, the commentators make a point of saying so, for example:

Keegan: "Good refereeing there. I'm not sure it wasn't a foul, but he tried to make such a meal of it, that the Austrian referee, who was trying to get involved in the play directly in the first half [the referee had accidentally kicked the ball] is having a good second half."

Moore: "Yeah, the referee was spot on there, wasn't he?"

Keegan: "And the linesman didn't give anything this time, which will please you, Brian."

Moore: "Yes."

The existence of an overarching rule structure, then, knowledge of which is available to all, is interpreted as giving the players, the commentators and the crowd the right to question, and attempt to influence, the decisions of the referee without putting into doubt the possibility that certainty could be established. Failings of the referee, which appear to include his nationality, are highlighted to contrast with the inflexibility of the truth of fair or foul play. The certainty that success or failure is deserved can therefore be established, and questions of desert are a consistent feature of the commentary:

Keegan: "This is a tremendous display for England. They deserve to be four up."

and,

Keegan: "...it was a clumsy challenge. It deserved a yellow card."

Moore: (echoing)"Yellow card."

Football talk asserts that the right to judge what constitutes good or bad play, on the basis of the shared knowledge of the relatively uncomplicated rule system, is open to all participants, even spectators, and not confined to a privileged representative of authority. As a result, televised football contains a discourse of democracy not confined to physiology, within which the contradictions of having to abide by the referee's decisions, even when they are perceived to be wrong, are subsumed within the assertion of the democratic ideal. So with physical stature: success in football may be open to all regardless of size or shape, but size and shape remain important enough to require regular comment:

Moore: "De Kock goes up for this one. Something like six foot five. He will be a massive prob-lem. No, there's Hoekstra. Another six footer. To Seedorf who certainly isn't"

Keegan:"You can be as tall as you like, Brian, but when you place them with that power, in that area of the goal, you can be six foot seven, six foot eight, you don't get them."

The content of football talk is, however, not its only significant aspect. The form the talk takes is worthy of consideration in itself, and is the subject of the next section.

## 5.5 Football "banter" in voice and image

Discussing the success of fanzines, Turner (a Stockport County fan), considers their most important feature is that:

they reflect the HUMOUR of football fans. Having a laugh is a vital part of football culture, whether it be the loud-mouthed wag in the crowd (labelled the 'The Bloke Behind Me' by "When Saturday Comes"), or travelling to away games with mates. The irreverence shown to those who run the game is hilarious and a major factor in the success story of fanzines (1990:80).

It has been observed that the heavy use of nationalistic cliché in the opening sequence is underpinned by irony, and a similar use of humour is apparent in



both of the short films that precede the match (see figure 5.2 and appendix C). Heavy handed graphics ("The Story So Far" inscribed on an England flag) give way to what could be considered a comment on the discourses of nationhood, patriotism and masculinity within international football (a shot of England team members, lined up and singing the national anthem, the original soundtrack replaced by one featuring a deep operatic voice singing "He is an English man..."). The remaining film utilises all available channels to offer a humorous report on the recent uneven media coverage of the England team, particularly with regard to their in-flight drunken behaviour, their unexpected draw with Switzerland and their improved performance against Scotland. Newspaper headlines, with all their comic, attention-grabbing and abbreviated "tabloid-speak" are made, through graphic manipulation, to pass over the screen, while a narrative is created via a series of images cut together, and the sense in which they are to be read is conveyed by a selection of pop songs: they are "crazy horses" who would do well to listen to the "message in the air", but occasionally dynamic, and "fire like this". The abrupt change to yodelling music which accompanies film of Switzerland scoring a goal, with its hackneyed reference point, has clear humorous overtones. Humour is similarly conveyed by the rock music, unsubtle colours and dancing graphics of the second film - a summary of the qualities of the Dutch side - and the attempts to link the letters D-U-T-C-H with phrases as unlikely as "U is for Usually beat England".

Easthope (1990) considers that banter (although not exclusively masculine) is used so often as a form of male exchange that it can be seen as a second feature of masculine style. There are three aspects to banter according to Easthope, one related to its mode of operation and the two remaining to its content:

As humour or comedy, banter makes use of every kind of irony, sarcasm, pun, clichéd reply, and so is an example of the joke...The content of banter has a double function. Outwardly banter is aggressive, a form in which the masculine ego asserts itself. Inwardly, however, banter depends on a close, intimate and personal understanding of the person who is the butt of the attack. It thus works as a way of affirming the bond of love between men while appearing to deny it (1990:87-8).

Finlay and Johnson (1997) have considered football talk - as exemplified by the ITV Saturday lunchtime show from the early 1990s, Saint and Greavsie - to be an instance of banter, pointing to "the playful antagonism between St John (the

Scotsman) and Greaves (the Englishman), which is employed to legitimate racist and/or chauvinistic remarks". The authors go on to suggest that it is possible to observe within their dialogues, on the one hand,

an outward assertion of the masculine ego underpinned by the aggressive emphasis placed on national difference. On the other hand, this aggression is offset by the tacit expression of personal understanding between the interlocuteurs - illustrated by their physical closeness [the eponymous presenters sit close together] (1997:137).

Finlay and Johnson's wider concern is to demonstrate that the characteristics previously associated with women's gossip are similarly applicable to televised football talk between men. In this, the authors stress the social function of football talk:

whilst this football talk may initially appear to be about the exchange and supplementation of information (scores, league tables, players and teams), it is actually much more. This is because this type of discourse also performs an important function where social relationships between men are concerned (1997:140).

That the exchange of information is not always the principal function of conversation, has been widely established, the authors suggest, and the role of television programmes based on football talk is to establish a discourse space "in which men can interact without women and begin to perform masculinity" (140-1). As with women's gossip, the function of the talk becomes a way of accruing "a pool of common experiences" (141) based on the dissection of characters' lives, which can be "commented upon, criticized and sanctioned" (141), thereby creating a shared perspective on the world.

The football talk during the England v Holland match occasionally slides into banter, as when, for example, Keegan comments on changes since the "old days":

Keegan: "I was looking as they shook hands starting the game. I think in the old days, people would have broken fingers"  
Moore: (laughing)"It used to be tough in those days"

But the striking thing about the conversation was its lack of meaningful content, as evidenced by the high level of redundancy in the answer Jack Charlton gives to a request for a prediction of the score:



Charlton: "I'll go for a draw...Could be nil-nil, one-one, two-two, three-three

and the confusion in some of Keegan's utterances:

Keegan: "And of course this could be the final, Brian. It's not beyond the realms of possibility that we're seeing a repeat of the final here..."

Tied to an appreciation of the extent to which all five channels of communication are used during the televising of the match, often simultaneously, so that it would be impossible for a viewer to register all the information potentially available, the lack of meaning in the content of many of the utterances would support a claim that, as with women's gossip, the form of football talk can take precedence over content. It is important, however, to underline that this is not simply a feature of the talk, but of image, graphics, sound effects and music, in that the surfeit of communication their simultaneous use creates, reduces the potential for effective information exchange. While Finlay and Johnson (1997) acknowledge the similarity between women's gossip and football talk, they suggest that the differences are equally remarkable, that while the focus of women's gossip is the sphere of private and personal experience, football talk, in its discussion of rule infringement and players' *professional* lives, marginalises these issues. The authors go so far as to say that "the appearance of concern for the lives of other people and a creation of intimacy" is "ultimately revealed as a sham" (142). Banter's effectiveness in creating a sense of intimacy relies on its exclusivity, a shared realm of knowledge which is difficult to break into. In this sense, football talk's traditional lack of address to women has been part of its address to men, which is ultimately related to its characteristic form of communication which approaches intimacy without engaging with the personal.

Going further with the argument that relates televised football to the creation of intimacy between men: if the humour in the short films and opening sequence can be considered a form of banter, the humour relies on an intimate knowledge of the viewer, a viewer that, in fact, remains addressed by nationalistic images and images glorifying physical masculinity, whilst acknowledging their anachronism. Such an account would complicate the notion that it is all a joke - the disclaimer of the tabloids - of course it is, but its humour relies on the on-going effectiveness of the address.

Figure 5.2 Extract from first-order semiotic analysis of England v Holland football match, broadcast as part of Euro '96, ITV 18/6/96:

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
England flag with "The Story So Far" inscribed in four white squares surrounding red cross.	Flag becomes transparent to reveal a panning shot of England teams, mouths open apparently singing (originally to national anthem)			Deep operatic male voice: "He is an English man..."
	England player (Gascoigne) with mouth open			Abrupt change to squeal of electronic rock instrument
"On tour" in mult-coloured, bright lettering moving vertically and horizontally along left of screen	Still of Gascoigne in pub. Still of Gascoigne drinking from bottle of spirits. Bar tenders juggling with bottles.			Rock beat continues "Crazy Horses"
"England a joke before the off"	Bar tender pouring spirits from two bottles into mouth of man lying horizontally on seat.			
"Nasty pong over Hong Kong Ding Dong" in style of newspaper headlines passing over image	Plane taking off			"Crazy Horses" continued:
Newspaper headline: "Drunken England stars in plane shame"				"There's a message in the air...crazy horses
"Disgracefool"				Music
Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Grainy image of man's mouth:	"The England squad have accepted collective responsibility for what happened"		riding everywhere"
	Two knights on horseback, wearing St. George's cross. Enormous championship trophy being unveiled.			
"Switzerland" (letters in orange passing vertically down left side of the screen)	Terry Venables' concerned face. Shearer scoring goal. Baby in crowd, crowd cheering. Hand ball scene: Swiss player gesturing to his hand; England player with hands on head in despair. Shot from behind England goal: Swiss player scores penalty goal.	"Here comes Shearer..."	Crowd cheering	"Got the trigger I fire like this"
		"A penalty is given"	Referee's whistle.	
	Switzerland manager in shirt and tie in crowd rising to feet. Group of Swiss fans (female in centre) with arms outstretched and fingers wiggling, raising them above their heads. Fan doffing hat with Snickers logo and England flag. Swiss fans. Swiss fans with enormous banner: "Stop it Blick". Flags either side of Swiss team, hands joined, raising arms as if taking bow.			Abrupt change: yodelling music "Yodellay-ay"

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Terry Venables hurriedly leaving seat, eyes downcast.	"We didn't play well in the second half - we were dead on our feet"		Sentimental country music
	Close shot: Shearer.	"We haven't won the game, we would have liked to, but don't rule us out"		
	through tunnel.	"I think they're vicious, vindictive and personal"		
"Out of Gaz!" (in red & white) overlaid with "Collect your boots and get lost Gazza!" (in black & white)				
	Full shot: Gascoigne leaving house and being confronted by press (who are out of shot). A garage door is seen with a Gascoigne: "Do you want a game on the basketball basket above it. grass? One against one, me and you? Why not? You talk a good game."	Gascoigne: "Have you played football before?" Pressman: "I've played football, yeah."		Up beat guitar pop music
	England fans seen from behind waving flags.			
"Scotland" (letters in blue passing vertically down left side of screen)	Close shot: England players coming through tunnel. Gascoigne pulling face. Scottish fans (in tartan). England player scoring goal. Scotland player being tripped up by England player. Close shot of Gascoigne blessing himself.	"There's a cross coming in...One-nil!"	Crowd cheers.	
	Shot from behind England goal, Scotland player missing penalty, England player kissing goal-keeper. Gascoigne with ball scoring	"A brilliant save"	Cheers	
		"Gascoigne's going to finish it here"		"...hate you as I



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music fly"
Newspaper headlines: "Lionheart" "Gazza rocks jocks to their socks"	goal. Gascoigne lying on ground, arms outstretched, surrounded by team members spraying him with water.			
	Female England fan kissing male fan. Little boy with three small England flags painted on his face. Scottish fan looking dejected, his face painted half blue and half white, flag worn like a cloak, suspended from his neck, but open, revealing a bare chest. Gascoigne, triumphant, being kissed by team member in front of cheering crowd waving England flags. Holland fans in orange.			
"Holland?" (letters in orange appearing singly and accumulatively from the right side of the screen)				

## 5.6 Obscenity and the star system

While the first of the two short films shown before the England v Holland match ostensibly detailed England's journey to that point in the championship, much of it was given over to relating the scandals, press condemnation and praise surrounding Paul Gascoigne. Gascoigne is shown drinking, before unflattering newspaper headlines ("Drunken England stars in plane shame") appear over images of bars and aeroplanes, referencing the pre-Euro '96 scandal of players causing damage whilst flying back to England. Imagery of knights on horseback from the opening ceremony are followed by an English, then Swiss goal from the championship's first match, England v Switzerland, which resulted in a draw rather than the expected England win. A shot of Venables then the goal scorer, Shearer, is followed by an image of Gascoigne, whilst newspaper headlines attacking his performance ("Collect your boots and get lost Gazza") pass over the screen, and his voice is heard condemning the press. Gascoigne is then shown again, this time outside his house confronting a reporter, who can not be seen in the shot:

Gascoigne: "Have you played football before?"

Pressman: "I've played football, yeah."

Gascoigne: "Do you want a game on the grass? One against one, me and you? Why not? You talk a good game."

Scenes from the England v Scotland match are then shown, as up-beat pop music begins, and the commentator's voice animatedly describes Gascoigne scoring a goal. More favourable headlines then pass over the screen ("Gazza rocks jocks to their socks") and a triumphant Gascoigne is seen being kissed by a team member in front of a cheering crowd waving England flags.

Roger Horrocks spends a significant amount of his chapter in *Male Myths and Icons* on "Male Sport" discussing Gascoigne, as does Critcher in his article on style and English football (1991). Both authors point to contradictions in the media's construction of Gascoigne as "star", contradictions similarly brought out in this extract from the England v Holland prologue, in which the fickleness of the press attention Gascoigne attracts becomes fit subject for media comment in itself. Critcher (1991) (following Walvin) maintains that, after the abolition of the maximum wage footballers lost their place within the world of the working-class, whose values their playing style reflected, and the most prominent (i.e. commercial) players were gradually appropriated by the world of show business.



As a result, stardom became as much a matter of a player's style off the pitch as it was on it:

The player must meet the excessive and often unreasonable demands of the media - that he be a character yet behave himself, that he appear in public and have no private life to call his own, that he be as articulate off the field as he is on it (75).

As for Paul Gascoigne, the volatile quality that makes him a star "is what endangers him" (78):

The danger arises because often it is the flawed volatility which propels someone to the status of superstar. It is the lack of discipline in their play which makes them exciting and the lack of discipline in their personalities which makes them vulnerable. Those who are disciplined on and off the field may not become superstars because recognition of their qualities is confined to the game (78).

Certainly, Holt's analysis of W.G. Grace's status as national hero in cricket is along the same lines: he wasn't a hero because he "played the game", because he did not, Holt suggests, but because of "his boundless energy, his competitiveness, his huge stature, and simplicity that made him the quintessence of Englishness" (1992:263). The problem with Gascoigne's hero status is understood by Critcher's allusion to Boorstin's analysis of the male hero as authentic, "defined by who he appears to be" (Critcher, 1991:78), a status which is compromised by his role as celebrity, one that "obscures and is apt to destroy his role of hero" (Boorstin, in Critcher, 1991:78). The Euro '96 film, which interrelates Gascoigne's personal life (in a bar, outside his house) with his professional life, clearly sees the first as being destructive of the second. Within the film, Gascoigne himself attempts to reinstitute a distinction between the capacity for word and deed, a plea for authenticity denied him by the media presence, where he is expected, like the reporter, to "talk a good game" as well as play it.

Horrocks considers Gascoigne's simultaneous adulation and vilification by the media, which the film exemplifies, as symptomatic of the ambivalence with which the middle class regards Gascoigne as an icon of the working-class, on the one hand desiring the artistry of his play, on the other reviling his boorishness.

Horrocks considers that the "really interesting thing" about Gascoigne is that "he has not moderated his behaviour for public consumption" (1995:163), belching into an interviewer's microphone, crying, drinking, being overweight. In media terms, this may be his downfall, yet for Horrocks, the simultaneous presence of obscenity and artistry within the body of Gascoigne references the way,

the body/spirit split is mapped on to dualities within class and gender. The working-class male is seen as corporeal, gross, eructating; the middle class is more spiritual, more refined, but looks with envy and a certain excitement at the physical carnival enacted by men such as Gazza. Gazza's body and personality become a text, which is alienated from him, in fact becomes public property, upon which can be inscribed various messages (163).

Easthope suggests obscenity to be a third characteristic of masculine style, relying for his argument on a Freudian account of anal eroticism, the sublimation of which is to be found in a fixation with tidiness and order, which can be indulged in only by recognition of the anal, the obscene. Horrock's account of Gascoigne's gross "proletarian male body" and its representation in the film clearly contains aspects of the obscene. Critcher's account of the star system goes further and suggests that Gascoigne's (obscene) disregard for convention is in fact what qualifies him for stardom in the first place.

What is interesting here, however, is that within the opposition, male-female, it is more commonly the feminine which is culturally associated with the corporeal, masculinity, the privileged term, residing in the realm of the intellect. The Gascoigne phenomenon would appear to point towards an important manifestation of the intersection of class and gender, whereby working-class masculinity, in contrast to middle class masculinity, despite its associations with *machismo*, could be considered to exist on a continuum with femininity. This point will be further explored in Chapter Six with reference to snooker.

## 5.7 Gilligan and the gendering of cultural values

Certain of the features that can be considered elements of masculine style in televised football seem to correspond with research that Gilligan (1982) has referred to in support of her thesis that psychological development is culturally gendered. Quoting Lever's research on 10 and 11 year old, white, middle-class



children in 1970s USA, Gilligan highlights some of her observations of the differences between girls' and boys' games. Of the differences that emerged from Lever's study - boys playing out of doors more often than girls; boys playing more often in large, age-heterogeneous groups; boys playing more competitive games with greater frequency; boys' games lasting longer - it is the last that has been considered most revealing since it resulted from the boys' greater effectiveness in resolving disputes. Lever noted the boys, throughout her study, were seen quarrelling all the time, but the game continued despite this, never being interrupted longer than seven minutes, with the boys seeming to enjoy the legal debates as much as the game itself. In contrast, girls tended to end the game once a dispute arose. Both Lever and previously Piaget have suggested that this fascination with the legal elaboration of rules is necessary for moral development and, later, corporate success. The characteristics of traditional girls' games - turn-taking, being only indirectly competitive, where one person's success does not necessarily mean someone's failure - impede the moral lessons accompanying role-taking in disputes, considered the most important feature of playing rule-bound games by Kohlberg, for example. For Gilligan, it is significant that girls were likely to end the game when a quarrel broke out, showing that "rather than elaborating a system of rules for resolving disputes, girls subordinated the continuation of the game to the continuation of relationships" (1982:10).

Football talk, as a feature of televised football, sounds a lot like the description of boys games offered by Lever, and Gilligan's suggestion that the different characteristics of girls' and boys' games mean that they "arrive at puberty with a different interpersonal orientation and a different range of social experience" (1982:11), may go a long way to explain the differently gendered appeal of televised football to male and female audiences. Gilligan goes on to discuss the gender differences that emerged in research on human motivation using the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), during which an ambiguous cue, a picture or part of a story, is presented for interpretation, the subject being asked to continue the story or write a story based on the picture, which is then studied by psychologists with a view to revealing the concepts and interpretations people bring to their experience, the sense they make of their lives. Horner, in 1972, suggested that a previous division of achievement motivation, based on studies of men, into a motive to approach success and a motive to avoid failure, was disrupted by studies on women, where a third unlikely motivation, to avoid success, could be identified:

women appeared to have a problem with competitive achievement, and that problem seemed to emanate from a personal conflict between femininity and success (Gilligan, 1982:14).

Horner's conclusion was that the fear of success existed because it was accompanied by a threat of social rejection and a loss of femininity. Later in her book, Gilligan discusses a study of images of violence in TATs which found that violent imagery was found in stories by men about intimacy and in stories by women about female competitive success, commenting that:

it appears that men and women may experience attachment and separation in different ways and that each sex perceives a danger which the other does not see - men in connection, women in separation (1982:42).

To recall the incessant polyphonic character of televised football: voices from the commentators, the experts and, always, the crowd, highlight the communality of the football experience. Success and failure is distributed among the fanbase and not experienced by individuals in isolation. No fear of social rejection is necessary, since playing by the rules justifies success. Football talk equally appears a means of approaching intimacy, but, as Finlay and Johnson (1997) have indicated, stops short of the personal. Gilligan's appraisal of the place of violence in men's TATs may be revealing in this respect:

Reversing the usual mode of interpretation, in which the absence of aggression in women is tied to a problem with separation, makes it possible to see the prevalence of violence in men's stories, its odd location in the context of intimate relationships, and its association with betrayal and deceit as indicative of a problem with connection which leads relationships to become dangerous and safety to appear in separation. Then rule-bound competitive achievement situations, which for women threaten the web of connection, for men provide a mode of connection that establishes clear boundaries and limits aggression, and thus appears comparatively safe (1982:43-44).

The approach to intimacy which is characteristic of televised football may be a step on the road to connection, but the limitations imposed by the banter form and rule-bound competition, reflect Gilligan's concerns about a masculine



cultural trend to overvalue self in separation. It is important, therefore, to recognise the complexity of the address of televised sport, particularly as it promises to embrace a growing female audience: football's legal debates and mode of intimacy are counterpointed by an absence of the personal and a fetishisation of truth.

## 5.8 Conclusion

While the address of football may be increasingly aiming to embrace a more consumer-oriented audience than that found among its traditional fanbase of working class men, which may include women, each of the elements of masculine style identified by Easthope (1990) remain observable within the televisualisation of football. The importance of the *form*, rather than the content, of football proves an explanation of the success of this masculine address. Just as intimacy can be established between participants (real or imagined) in football conversation, its power of exclusivity cannot be overlooked. Mills' (1992) conception of an audience member positioned as an overhearer of - in this case - a traditionally all-male interaction, can be usefully invoked here to account for football's traditional *lack of address* to a female audience. Yet, the means to engage in immediate, non-intimate communication that facility with football talk provides, might be considered an enhancement to the life experience of the new female fans who appear to be beginning to recognise themselves in televised football's address. On the other hand, it might be wise to focus, with Finlay and Johnson (1997) on the negative aspects of the lack of intimacy discernible within football talk - as Gilligan (1982) observes, there is danger in both connection and separation. If Mills' (1992) model of textual address is adopted, an emergent female fanbase may be beginning to recognise itself as an addressee of televised football, but while the players and presenters are all male, it would be difficult to see how full identification with the author of the address might occur.

## Chapter Six

# Gendered Narrative in Televised Sport

### 6.1 The Story So Far

After extensive analysis of televised tennis and football, a number of features that can be related to the gendered character of their audience appeal have been established. Televised tennis was considered to contain a code for its hero-villain polarity that referenced the Victorian gentleman amateur of British sport's past. The gentleman player, exemplified by Rusedski, was a good loser with a light touch. The lack of ease with which Washington, as a black American, fitted this construction was considered evidence of the specificity of its cultural construction, resting on a potential as much for exclusion as inclusion. As a "sensitive man", the gentleman hero in tennis was thought to correspond with male characters found in soap opera, according to Brown's classification (cited by Fiske, 1987). Similarly, the domestic connotations of the term "lawn tennis" were compatible with soap opera's preference for a home-based setting, and the use of the close up shot, said by Modleski (1984) to be prevalent in soap opera, was seen to be one of the most frequent shot types in tennis. When women's tennis was examined, however, what emerged was the profound ambivalence which characterised its televisual construction: on the one hand, strong, independent, athletic females in action were central to what was broadcast, but on the other, it appeared that at every opportunity the players were made to fit a code of heterosexual femininity as imaginary partner to the Victorian gentleman hero. Needless to say, the one was incompatible with the other.

Turning to football, it was considered that, here, the hero-team retained historical connotations of a masculinity emerging this time from the British working-class, but which was in the process of erosion by commercial forces aimed at extending its marketing potential to a social stratum with increased purchasing power. Informed by Easthope's (1990) categorisation of "masculine style", it was possible to detect three stylistic elements at work: clarity, banter and obscenity, and to expand on them to observe an egalitarian fantasy, a fetishisation of truth, an approach to intimacy and a star system which created problematic individual heroes.

In Chapter Four, the work of Laura Mulvey was invoked to offer explanation for the uneasy position of female players within the televising of tennis. In



particular, it was Mulvey's use of Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* which was found to be valuable in accounting for the problematic position of active female characters within a televisual narrative. In Chapters Two and Three, it had been anticipated that a focus on narrative could be rewarding in an understanding of televised sport. There, the work of Arthur Asa Berger (1992) - itself informed by Propp - was relied on to give an account of formulaic aspects of text which indicate the existence of genres and subgenres. It was remarked that to establish a set of formulaic conventions which unite all the sports shown as part of television's "world of sport" - thus forming an identifiable television genre - might be a useful entry point for the analysis of sport. Such an analysis would provide a basis from which to compare sport - suggested by Fiske (1987) to be a "masculine narrative" - with the "feminine" genres of soap and romance.

By considering televised tennis and football as narratives it may, then, be possible to reconsider the differences and similarities of the two sports, and reassess the difficult place female characters occupy in the story. To recall Propp's analysis of the Russian Wondertale, seven dramatis personae (see figure 6.1) were found to be involved in a combination of thirty-one possible functions, that is, elements in a tale that are stable and constant, independent of how or by whom they are fulfilled.

1.	Villain	Fights with hero
2.	Donor	Provides hero with magical agent
3.	Helper	Aids hero in solving difficult tasks, etc.
4.	Princess	Sought-for person
5.	Dispatcher	Sends hero on his mission
6.	Hero	Searches for something or fights with villain
7.	False Hero	Claims to be hero but is unmasked

**Figure 6.1 The seven dramatis personae in Propp's scheme (from Berger, 1991:17)**

Mulvey (1993) points out that, in the Proppian tale, the only character function that is sex-specific is that of "marriage", an important aspect of narrative closure, "a function characterised by "princess" or equivalent" which "thus essentially relates to the sex of the hero and his marriageability" (129).

As with the Western, it is possible to detect "the residual imprint", to use Mulvey's phrase (1993:129), of Propp's narrative structure in televised sport. In fact, although Berger (1992) considered it to be a programme type "high under objective" (7) in his classification, since sports contests actually exist, it is surprisingly easy to consider televised sport within terms derived from Propp. Sports journalists and commentators refer with ease to terms from the folk tale, as the "Heroes and Villains" title of the *Sunday Times Magazine's* special 1992 Olympic edition indicates. What is of particular concern to us, however, is the range of manifestations the character of hero can take within the various types of televised sport, how these manifestations relate to cultural specificity, and, importantly, what function sportswomen may serve within the narrative.

To reiterate, then: if the marriageability of the hero is important for the narrative, and the promise of the wedding vital for narrative closure, it is clear to see that certain character functions must be sex-specific. Certainly, sport requires narrative closure - we need to know who wins. In the Rusedski-Sampras tennis match, the girlfriends of the players featured in both the image and voice channels, and it was suggested that there were connotations of chivalry in the way the female partners were presented in relation to the active male sportspeople. This relationship fits easily into a Proppian narrative, the closure of which is signalled by the male hero marrying his princess. Indeed, the short film of Krajcek (Washington's opponent) which preceded the Wimbledon Men's Singles Final in 1996, made much of his relationship with his girlfriend:

Voice: "Sharing every triumph with Richard is his girlfriend, Daphne Deckers. She's found her first [close shot: blonde woman in crowd, clapping and smiling] visit to Wimbledon to be an emotionally exhausting one".

That their relationship mimics the banality of everyday married life, is significant:

Daphne: "...very calm. He's very calm. He comes back to the hotel, he's very calm, he just opens the room and surveys the menu, "mmm, what am I going to have?" Every morning he watches Bugs Bunny on the cartoon network and eats pancakes. You know, like he was going to work. Packs his bags [blows kiss], "bye love", that's why it is hard to imagine that this is Wimbledon, you know, that this is the final of Wimbledon".



Washington was not linked to a girlfriend, his brother being the only family connection made in his short film, which can be seen in this context as a sign that Washington, unlike Rusedski, Sampras and Krajcek, lacked maturity. Perhaps it was this lack that the blonde streaker - who ran onto court before the match began - intended to make good!

The hero function in tennis is, as has been outlined, one intimately connected with the particular social and historical codes which have passed into the contemporary television event of Wimbledon and consolidated the Proppian character functions, so that the hero becomes the English gentleman amateur, or its closest approximation. The links to aristocracy regularly invoked by the commentators and camera shots lend the characters an additional "fairy tale" weighting, so that the hero can be seen as having princely (or Knightly) qualities appropriate for marriage to a princess. Yet, televisually, it is a princess function which is most clearly apportioned to the female tennis players, rather than a correlative of the hero function of the male player. While their physical agency would indicate a heroic function, Graf and Sanchez are constructed in relationship to their parents (significantly a father only in Graf's case) and the many references to being "crowned" and to a subsequent "reign", indicate a potential televisual resolution as marriage-partner to the hero-prince. The televisualisation of Wimbledon can be seen, then, as an attempt to construct the female players as specifically English "ladies" as partners for the "gentlemen" heroes, in an anachronistic echo of the role of lawn tennis in providing opportunities for the young men and women of the Victorian middle-class to meet.

The hero-villain dichotomy of the folktale readily oppositionalises, polarising people (male/female), values (good/bad) and nations (us/them). It is this last polarisation which is most in evidence in the televising of the England v Holland football match, which affords another manifestation of the hero - this time as team, and working-class. The strength of the ideology of the gentleman in English national myth is its capacity for embodiment at all levels of social class, if not exactly in the same way, deference being its significant characteristic the further down the hierarchy one goes. Horrocks (1995) has suggested that the invocation of gentlemen footballers of the past, symbolised by Bobby Moore, has been part of an attempt by the media to "construct a vision of a "golden age", when footballers were honourable (and low paid)" (153). Lamentation for a long

lost England of the past is part and parcel of the media nostalgia for the gentleman player, and for Britain's associated economic and symbolic preeminence. However, this type of nostalgia is also used to castigate modern sportsmen, Horrocks maintains, and the contemporary working-class:

"Moore seemed to symbolise an era when the working-class was safely controlled...Not so today, when Gazza...refuses to be disciplined by the unwritten codes of conduct prescribed for English players" (153).

Perhaps behind the ambivalence of the media attention paid to Gascoigne - and featured in the England v Holland prologue - is the inability of certain contemporary football stars to be contained within sport's narrative with its hero-villain polarisation. It is interesting that the very fleshiness of Gascoigne that Horrocks associates with his working-classness, his "eructating" body, is a feature more often associated with femininity than masculinity. Gascoigne's famous displays of emotion - again traditionally a feminine trait - stand in stark contrast to the lack of real intimacy said to be a prime characteristic of football talk.

While helpers and donors are identifiable in sport's coaches and managers, yelling from the sidelines, it is important to note that the special powers of the team or the individual stars in football are gained by dint of effort: the fantasy of democracy observed earlier. The folktale narrative is then expanded to incorporate various culturally specific manifestations, and the next sections will explore how the narrative finds expression in a range of further sports: ice skating, motor racing and snooker. This time detailed transcription of the signifiers identifiable in the televised sport was not undertaken. Instead, examples of each sport were 'read' along the five channels of communication - image, voice, graphics, sound effects and music - to ascertain how far the markers of gendered address previously isolated within the broadcasts of tennis and football remained characteristic of further televised sport programming.

## 6.2 Fairytale on Ice

In the TGI statistics cited by Barnett (1990), skating was found to be the most popular televised sport with female viewers (36% of women respondents saying they enjoyed watching it). Its associations with dance go a long way to explaining its traditional position as a "feminine appropriate" sport, to use



Hargreaves' (1994) term. In *Women On Ice, Feminist Essays on the Tonya/Nancy Kerrigan Spectacle*, (Baughman, 1995), what emerges throughout the collection is the authors' observation of the "fairytale" narrative of ice skating. While the "residual imprint" of the Proppian narrative structure may be observable in tennis and football, in ice skating its particular form is that of the - Hollywood-informed - fairytale:

The dreamy, kitschy world of figure skating aspires to create a fairy-tale land. Young girls in glittering costumes compete to be chosen Ice Princess. The Ice Princess embodies the same uneasy mixture of beauty and toil as Cinderella. While skating is a sport - usually the occasion for the most democratic of competitions - it is a peculiar kind of sport, where "artistry" is weighed with technique and a pleasing arm or well-proportioned thigh is as much part of what it means to skate well, as executing a proper landing. In skating, ideals of femininity are actually *part of the terms of the competition* (Thernstrom, 1995:148).

The author goes on to quote an article from the *San Francisco Examiner* in which a coach maintains that judges regularly comment on the skaters' appearance "to suggest she wear more pink, or grow her hair back long or see a dermatologist to clear up patches of teenage acne" (149). Another author in the same collection suggests that femininity in ice skating is "overdetermined":

Perhaps it is because of the equality of the skills performed that the narrative surrounding the competition is so overdetermined in its construction of the women skaters' femininity (Feder, 1995:23).

Such "overdetermination" of femininity can be observed in the event itself, in the costumes and the composition, with its mark for "artistic impression" or "presentation". Kestnbaum considers the characteristic short skirt of the traditional female skater's outfit, not as the rules insist, a requirement on the basis of physical modesty, but "an explicit marker of femininity" (1995:58). Inaugurated by the eleven-year-old Sonja Henie at the 1924 Olympics, as a radical move - available only to a child - away from the long skirts of her competitors, the short skirt is contemporarily insisted on by regulations, which simulataneously forbid the one-piece "unitard" (as worn by US skater Debi Thomas in the 1980s). Kestnbaum (1995) remarks that a unitard, in covering all parts of the body in one, draws particular attention to none, unlike the short skirt

which "inevitably flies upward during spins and backward crossovers. And with the tights simulating nudity and the pants of the skating dress drawing attention to the groin and lower curve of the buttocks by terminating there, the short skirt only serves to emphasize these sexualised regions of the anatomy" (57).

In terms of the televisualisation of ice skating, then, these in-built determinants of femininity on the part of the female skaters are compounded by graphics, camera angles and commentary. In her article, "Nancy and Tonya and Sonja, The Figure of the Figure Skater in American Entertainment", Feuer (1995) traces the links between ice skating and the Hollywood musical, another innovation facilitated by the youthful looks of Sonja Henie. Although she was twenty-five when she made her first film, Feuer maintains that her similarity to Shirley Temple enabled her to fit the Hollywood image of a figure skater as "child-like fairy-tale princess" (5). The "infantilized version of a woman's body" (9) presented by Henie remains, in Feuer's view, an important part of the televisualisation of skating: "In terms of feminine body images, competitive skating has regressed rather than progressed" (9).

Feuer suggests further, however, that figure skating films "meet all of the criteria for the fairy-tale subgenre of musicals detailed at length by Rick Altman in *The American Film Musical*, with their real world/dream world duality.

This last point is interesting to consider in relation to the opening sequence of both the European Figure Skating Championships and the World Figure Skating Championships broadcast by the BBC in January and March 1997. A succession of single skaters and skating pairs are shown in slow motion framed by white and blue snowflake graphics (see Appendix A), accompanied by romantic mood music. On the 22nd January, 1997, heralding a broadcast featuring the men's short programme and the pairs free programme, the following succession of skating positions were shown:

1. a lone female skater in long shot, in a camel spin;
2. a male skater's spinning foot;
3. a female skater shown from waist up, in an upright spin;
4. a pair shot from directly overhead, in a spin in which the upper body and free leg of each is outstretched parallel to the ice, while they hold each other by the waist;



5. the male skater (whose foot was shown previously) this time engaged in the last two revolutions of a jump, shot from waist up;
6. a pair spinning, the woman held by her upper arms, so that she appears to hang, without touching the ice, from her partner's outstretched arms;
7. a pair spinning, the woman again held by her upper arms, this time with her head at her partner's waist, requiring her to bend her knees and cross her ankles so that they are raised off the ice;
8. a pair shown from waist up, both hands linked, spinning each other in a Latin-type dance step;
9. a pair spinning, the man holding his female partner off the ice by the waist, while she bends her upper body back and holds her legs away from the ice in a scissor position.

The simulated snowflakes themselves create the stage for a fantasy scene, and it is pertinent to observe not only the obvious heterosexuality of the sequence, but also the extreme passivity of the female half of the pairs shown. While the "theme" of the sequence appears to be "versions of the spin", it is remarkable, then, that the only single male shown is engaged in a jump not a spin, a rather more active move. His spinning foot is shown earlier, but only in isolation from the rest of his body. In three of the pairs' spins shown, the women are motionless; in one, draped lifelessly from the arms of her partner. Clearly, these are the prince and princess characters of the Hollywood fairytale dream world.

Romance - the resolution of the narrative in marriage - is integral to the cinematic fairytale into which ice skating fits so easily. As such it becomes typical of the "feminine narratives", whose appeal to a female audience was explored by Modleski (1984). Indeed, that the anticipated audience for the European and World Figure Skating Championships will be largely female, is indicated by the unusual presence in a sporting event of sponsors' rinkside advertisements with connotations of a feminine lifestyle: Whirlpool; Bailey's; Citizen; Fuji film; Caf, de Colombia; Evian; Master Card; Golden Lady. In Birmingham in 1995, two of the sponsors were Spar and Elizabeth Arden.

The heroism of the male figure skaters, then, is contained within a feminine narrative and as such only problematically corresponds with the virtues of toughness and athleticism ordinarily associated by television commentators with sportsmen. Accordingly, the aesthetic dimension of the men's event tends to be diminished in the commentary, whilst qualities more clearly related to sporting

masculinity are emphasised. Sue Barker, introducing the World Figure Skating Championships, announces coverage of the men's event in the following way:

Barker: "Leading the challenge, the champion of two years ago, Elvis Stojko, who's been in devastating form recently. And equally impressive is Alexi Urmanov. He's regained the brilliance that saw him claim the Olympic Gold three years ago. There'll be a fierce battle for the medals. But facing his own personal battle is Britain's Steven Cousins. In practice here, he's looked superb. Now it's time to produce that form when it matters"

In contrast, the women's event is "enticing". Yet, Elvis Stojko's bulky physique and emphasis on athletic jumps does place him more easily than other male skaters within the established paradigm of sporting masculinity. His performance in the World Championships 1995 was, accordingly, referred to in glowing terms by Des Lynam on *Sportsnight* (8/3/95) as "spectacular action", and then by the commentator, Alan Weeks is this way:

Weeks: "The defending world champion, really defending...What a gutsy competitor is the man from Richmond Hill, Ontario. The piece of music was called "Total Recall". What he had there was the total recall of what is required of a world champion. Never mind his injury. He went out and performed. This is the combination jump. Three turns on the tripel axel immediately up, the toe rake going in for the triple toe loop. Spinning was good, if anybody thought they were going to be helped to take the title off him he's proved that that is not to be the case".

Stojko is thus located at one end of a range of masculinities available to male ice skaters, where Weeks' later comment, that "Nobody's doubted his jumping ability but the presentation he's always had to battle a little bit for", is said almost approvingly, since sporting masculinity is concerned with athleticism, not presentation. The skating masculinity embodied by someone like Robin Cousins, however, is in direct contrast to Stojko, and it is pertinent to consider Cousins' criticisms of Stojko's performance, whilst on the commentary team for the 1997 World Championships, in this regard:

Cousins: "Elvis carries incredible power throughout his performance with him but personally I feel he lacks the finesse that Eldredge has. The



jumps are huge - they're big and strong. If I have a question it's about the quality of the footwork. It's really not as difficult as Eldredge's and he really needs to be able to keep everything at the same level. Huge triple axel, nice take off, nice triple toe loop, very strong and very solid."

The masculinities presented by the male skaters are, however, very clearly curtailed by already available cultural codes for representing men engaged in activities involving dance. Such codes have been regularly rehearsed in Hollywood cinema, and an analysis of the male skaters' costumes and choreography enables the full range to be described. Five distinct types are observable, but the skaters move between them, mixing styles and identities. The first model appears to take its inspiration from the military, possibly referencing the strong and supportive role played by the male dancing partner at the officer's ball (popularised in Hollywood by Civil War ball scenes). Stojko's costume for the short programme was of this type, featuring epaulets and sash across the upper body, in blue with red trim. Urmanov, too, wore a militaristic costume, with a great deal of gold trimming over black, and white gloves. Links with a similar militaristic phase in Michael Jackson's career were strengthened by the disco beat in Urmanov's accompanying music.

A second model is derived from the male ballet dancer. A precursor for aesthetic and athletic performance is clearly provided by the ballet, but rather than reference the tradition of questionable masculinity associated with male ballet dancers, it is the billowing shirt (rather than tights) which is the relevant signifier. Andrejs Vlasenko's costume in the European Championships in 1997 was of this type, consisting of a loose, shiny white shirt and black trousers. Neil Wilson's similarly loose shirt with embroidery and shoe lace tie, was combined with a cummerbund, in a possible reference to the evening dress of the officer-gentleman. Clearly both versions of masculinity derive from an elevated social class, wherein, as was discussed with tennis and football, a more refined physicality is preferred.

A third model is the film character. Philippe Candeloro skated to the Mission Impossible title music, in a black costume which referenced the outfits adopted by cinematic spies, overlaid with motifs of weaponry and gadgets. A red circular design on the back of Candeloro's costume revealed itself as the sizzling flame from the film's title sequence, but resembled the corporate logo worn on the back of workmen's overalls, a typical spy's disguise in the espionage genre.

Kestnbaum (1995) observes that by playing a character, male skaters are able to "achieve artistry by maintaining their subject position as artists, creators of the artistic expression that is the performance" (70). By contrast, female skaters are themselves presented as "objectified works of art". To recall Mulvey, what is to be looked at is not the skater as object, but subject, and Candeloro's multi-layered guise as character in a film, himself in a guise of spy in a guise of workman, considerably confounds the possibility of locating the skater as object of the gaze.

The image of the folk hero provides a fourth model. Elements of the folk hero can be found in the embroidered details of the skaters' costumes, and Stojko's black outfit from the free programme of the World Championships 1997, which featured a herringbone laced front fastening to a sleeveless shirt, studded wrist bands and belt, was of this type. Wrist and back supports have contemporary reference points in weightlifting and heavy rock, but the activities inscribed into his programme - on one occasion he mimes shooting with bow and arrow - locate him in the folk character of woodsman or its like. The fairytale narrative in which folk heroes reside have been incorporated in ballet and opera, once more referencing a sphere of high culture.

Finally, Steven Cousins' jazz man represents a fifth type. This last type would appear an innovation by Steven Cousins, who skated to sleazy jazz music in the World Championships 1997 in what appeared to be black jeans and long sleeved top, with striped detail running the length of each sleeve, which would not look inappropriate in a night club either now or thirty years ago. Again, the bohemian reference is mediated by its Hollywood manifestations, among which *Funny Face* might serve as an example.

Figure skating masculinities can be considered as arranged on a spectrum, at one end of which the hyper-masculinity of the sportsman is invoked by militaristic references, and at the other, a sixties' influence is detectable. While figure skating can be seen to construct "alternative" masculinities to those populating most sports programming, the masculinities available are heavily constrained by the range of cultural codes, created prior to the individual skaters, for expression of physically active masculinity not contained within the rationalist dictates of sport. Central to these "alternative" constructions is their location within a culture of gentlemen, softer and more refined than working-class masculinity, the higher social class references serving as a source of legitimation for activity that



presents a problem for inclusion within the dominant definition of masculinity, exemplified by the sportsman, but which in the end fail to veer far from it.

It is the cultured masculinity of the gentleman which fits the fairytale ice skating narrative of hero as prince, and the version preferred by the BBC commentary team of Barker and Cousins, and previously, commenting on the European Championships 1997, Barker and Oundjian. Haig Oundjian, described by Barker as a former bronze medallist at the Europeans, and presently vice-president of the National Ice Skating Association, was the embodiment of the gentleman, with his Received Pronunciation accent, flamboyant tie and chivalrous manner, leaning forward and maintaining plenty of eye contact with Barker. As with tennis, it is as heterosexual partner to this archetype that the female figure skaters are constructed, and as such specificities of class and nation are interwoven with the presentation of both the male and female skaters, if more obviously so with the males.

Throughout Baughman's (1995) collection, various authors allude to Mulvey's work to discuss the "to-be-looked-at-ness" (1993:116) of the female ice skaters. What is important for ice skating, however, is Mulvey's observation of the way the character of the showgirl functions to unite the two aspects of the look in Hollywood cinema, spectacle and narrative:

Traditionally, the woman displayed has functioned on two levels: as erotic object for the characters within the screen story, and as erotic object for the spectator within the auditorium, with a shifting tension between the looks on either side of the screen. For instance, the device of the show-girl allows the two looks to be unified technically without an apparent break in the diegesis. A woman performs within the narrative; the gaze of the spectator and that of the male characters in the film are neatly combined without breaking the narrative verisimilitude (Mulvey, 1993:117).

If Hollywood cinema has had an effect on the way male figure skaters are presented, it is inseparable from the televisualisation of the women's events. Female skaters are repeatedly presented in "show girl" form, the performance of Vanessa Gusmeroli in the World Championships, 1997, being a prime example. To traditional circus music, Gusmeroli skated a routine choreographed to resemble the acts of a succession of circus performers, including tightrope and

trapeze, a tumbling routine and a clown, which involved her in a display of comic coquettishness. Her costume was red and decorated with silver stars, resembling the outfit of a bare-back rider, with a short, flimsy skirt and a flesh coloured panel - simulating the display of cleavage - at the front. For the jumps, spins and spirals, the camera was either positioned so that eye level was Gusmeroli's waist level, giving plenty of opportunity for what Kestnbaum has called "the straight-on crotch shot" (1995:57), or framing her from above, giving the effect of diminution. Her position in the fairytale narrative of the ice skating competition, is, then, that of erotic spectacle for the viewer and hero combined.

Gusmeroli's jaunty pony tail and comic routine give the effect of infantilisation. Daddario's (1994) analysis of "CBS's packaging" of the women's sports at the 1992 Winter Olympics, discussed in chapter 2, observed that infantilization was a key feature of the commentary of certain of the events, particularly ice skating. Feuer (1995) suggests that the legacy of skaters like Sonja Henie is to "present a child-like version of femininity to the public" (8) which discriminates against athleticism in favour of dance and princess-appeal. Even in Duncan, Messner et al.'s (1994) Los Angeles study of a sport as far removed from skating as women's basketball, a similar televisual portrayal of female athletes as children was observed. Clearly the shrinking of female athlete to child-daughter is an important aspect of the televisualisation of women's sports. In the World Figure Skating Championships 1997, the appearance on the ice of Tara Lipinski, a fourteen year old, actually occasioned the commentator to recall Sonja Henie, and remark on how well Lipinski fitted the code for ice skating princess:

Voice (Barry Davies): "Huge roar for the lady from Sugarland, Texas. That really is where she lives".

Interestingly, her performance was shot from an angle higher than that used for Gusmeroli's performance, which, while avoiding sexualisation of her performance, draws further attention to the standardisation of the erotic in ice skating imagery.

In an echo of Messner, Duncan et al.'s (1994) description of the presentation of women's basketball, where the opening sequence featured the players as children, an evening repeat of the women's event which included Lipinski's performance was prefaced by a series of images from a home video featuring an even younger Lipinski on ice and roller skates, with simultaneous commentary:



Barker: "Could this tiny tot from the United States become the youngest ever world champion? Tara Lipinski's exceptional talent was evident then and rewarded in January this year when she became the youngest U.S. champion, ending Michelle Kwan's reign".

Previously, Cousins had invoked the classicly British code of "underdog" to cast her as a brave victim of disadvantage:

Cousins: "It was interesting to watch the warm up with all those girls, much bigger than her jostling for the ice to warm up their jumps. She did not get to warm up a triple lutz. But she came out and bowed into this..."

Then, he establishes that there is no contradiction in someone of her age performing in the World Championships:

Cousins: "...She's way beyond her years in terms of her form. She's so focused, she's got such a clear picture of what she wants and what she has to do. She can not only skate from her brain, she can also skate from her heart and I think that's what's making us look at this child and not think of a fourteen-year-old. We're looking at somebody who's very inexperienced in competition, but very experienced as a performer. It's quite amazing".

Comparing Lipinski to Kwan, who "also came in as a junior" but was "very girly and very young", Lipinski, although "very much a girl" is considered by Cousins to not have a "girly style", but a technique and style that will remain with her "even when her body grows and she gets older".

For the television presentation of ice skating, Lipinski's young age is clearly an asset, affording additional opportunities to inscribe soap opera's "gaze of the mother", in Modleski's (1984) terms. Yet, the fairytale narrative of ice skating requires its female competitors to remain in adolescence, so that innocence and burgeoning sexuality appear in tension, the better to enthrall the waiting prince. Discussing romance narratives, Modleski (1984) observed that,

The few analyses written about romances almost always mention the childish qualities of the heroine, but no one has noted the large amount of anger expressed by the child/woman, almost to the very end of the story.

The heroines rebel against the male authority figure and at times wish to be able to compete with him (44).

Facing up to the impossibility of winning, however, the romantic heroines invariably sacrifice their pride for a hug. Casting a female competitor as child clearly diminishes her power to disrupt the phallic narrative of the fairytale - as anger in a child becomes petulance, so competitiveness and athleticism become tomboyish spirit. By definition, it is impossible for a child to attain independence, and the autonomous woman does not exist in the narrative of princess and hero. The pairs' routines of the opening sequence described above, position the female partner as physically reliant on the supporting male, draped completely passively whilst manipulated by the man. As Feuer (1995) observes, "as in ballet, such femininity can only be an illusion requiring tremendous strength to perform" (8). A male partner may be physically present only in the pairs, but the show girl persona of the female figure skater symbolically inscribes a male partner as spectator. In Mulvey's terms, following Propp, the promise of marriage is important for narrative closure, and to consider the female figure skater as princess in a fairytale narrative requires that it is she who will supply the vital marriage function. Mature femininity can only be conceived of in terms, therefore, of marriage to the hero, so the active female must remain a child.

### 6.3 Motor Racing: "one, vital, essential man"

According to Barnett's (1990) figures, thirty-six per cent of men reported enjoying watching motor racing - the same percentage of women who said they enjoyed ice skating. Motor racing did not feature in the top ten of sports most enjoyed by a female audience. So, while motor racing is not the most popular sport with a male audience (it ranked sixth most popular in Barnett's (1990) table), it has a significant appeal to a male audience, not repeated with female viewers. Associations with engines, speed and danger assure motor racing a popular, stereotyped image as a hyper-masculine sport, and it is in this respect that it will be interesting to consider its gendered address in contrast to the address of ice skating, and, later, to snooker.

At this point it is worth restating the list of features Fiske (1987) says are characteristic of a masculine media text, inverting Brown's (1987) list of the characteristics of soap opera:



1. Narrative is closed in each episode;
2. The emphasis is on action and the dialogue is minimal;
3. There is a single plot, or clearly defined hierarchy of main and subplots, and a single hero or tightly knit hero pair or hero team;
4. Time does not correspond to actual time, but is compressed to speed through non action scenes and extended by slow motion to dwell on those of action/performance;
5. Segmentation follows cause and effect rather than rapid switching from plot to plot;
6. Women characters are not powerful, but victims;
7. Men are not sensitive, but powerful;
8. The setting is public, not domestic.

Motor racing, even above other sports, would seem to correspond exactly with Fiske's schema. Clearly, the setting is public: analysis of the 1996 Monaco Grand Prix (BBC1, Sunday 19th May) found Sue Barker remarking on the race's take over of an entire town:

Barker: "Hello, the narrow streets of Monte Carlo play host to the most glamorous and challenging race on the Formula 1 calendar, the Monaco Grand Prix".

The glamour of the race is described by Murray Walker as being part of the clichés surrounding the race:

Walker: "...there's a lot of clichés about Monaco, one is the beauty of the track [Close Shot: Driver (Coulthard) being approached by blonde female interviewer], the excitement of it, the location and the harbour, the yachts, the beautiful women, the restaurants, all that stuff..."

The role of "beautiful women" in providing that glamour is evident, and the plentiful camera shots of (mainly blonde haired) women among the spectators at balconies or employees of the racing teams (holding placards with the driver's name inscribed) testify to their importance in creating the atmosphere. The narrative function of closure provided by "the beautiful women" is clear: like the yachts in the harbour, which are frequently in shot, both in the prelude to the race and when the cars repeatedly drive past them, and the champagne prefigured in the Moët trackside advertisements, they are part of the prize for the victorious

hero driver. Towards the end of the race, when it becomes obvious that the Ligier driver, Olivier Panis, will win the race, a young blonde woman is seen in close shot looking anxious in the Ligier pit. The same woman is then shown another eight times in close shot, on her own or hugging Panis after his win, the last time in slow motion, her long, blonde hair wafting on the breeze. This shot features in the following sequence of shots shown after Panis's victory:

- 1) Split screen: Close shot: Panis; Full shot: replay of Panis in his car (driver not visible);
- 2) Long shot: spectators in crowd;
- 3) Close shot: Prince, zooming out to full shot: royal family;
- 4) Long shot: spectators in crowd;
- 5) Close shot: young blonde women in slow motion;
- 6) Close shot: trophy, panning out to close shot: Panis;
- 7) Close shot: Panis's car.

The screen is then tinted grey and the image is overlaid with the race statistics. At shot 5, the commentator's voice says:

Voice: "Isn't it marvellous to see some new faces on the rostrum, some new...new joy, some new encouragement that goes down through the lesser teams, that really do have to rely upon mistakes..."

The encouragement supplied by female support is part of the justification for the hero's determination to win, a theme referencing the role of the lady for the knight going into battle. Symbolic armour and vehicle for the warrior hero is provided by the helmet, protective clothing and racing car, which so engulfs the driver as to almost completely obscure him. In terms of a Proppian narrative structure then, this sequence sees the king rewarding the victorious hero prince, complete with special powers of a mechanical kind, with a trophy as well as a princess bride, thus providing formal closure. In Fiske's schema, closure is evident, as is action, a single hero, a straightforward plot, a focus on action, passive women, active men, and a very public sphere.

The communicative excess, which was observable as part of the masculine address of televised football, recurs in motor racing in its overloaded image channels (the cars and the hoardings are covered with advertising graphics, and there is an equivalent use of statistics) and the constant roar of the engines, an



effect of which is to obscure its very simple Proppian narrative structure. As in football talk, the commentary team engaged in motor racing talk display a familiarity with the drivers, using first names, and when visible dressed in the middle class casualness of polo shirts and slacks. As with football, strategy is a feature of motor racing talk, but technical information is its main focus as before the Monaco race when the Jordan gear box was shown and discussed. Emphasis on science and technology corresponds with Easthope's (1990) identification of clarity as an aspect of masculine style, within which even the predictability of the race might fit:

Walker: "...another cliché, although it is all too true, is the fact that very often, as last year, there is a collision immediately after the start. I should explain that it's incredibly difficult to pass here. In fact it's virtually impossible to pass here, unless you get help from the chap in front which is pretty unlikely..."

Intimacy with the drivers is approached via the machines they inhabit, which could be considered to vitiate such attempts. The drivers themselves speak very little and are most in view when only their eyes can be seen behind their protective gear. Yet, to invoke Mulvey once more, the cameras positioned above the drivers' head and at the front of the vehicle give driver's eye-view shots which offer the viewers clear points of identification with the protagonist-hero. Commentary accompanying such shots underlines the possibility for viewer identification ("we're riding with..."), drawing out associations with other heroic pursuits, like the hunt:

Walker: "Now we're with David Coulthard who's in third place and he can see his quarry ahead of him"

When Hill's car suffers mechanical failure, a camera on the nose gives pictures of crew members in the distance running towards the car, while graphics along the bottom of the screen give the name and affiliation of the driver, to enable viewer identification at moments of high drama. Again, when Villeneuve crashes, the camera above his head gives pictures of the crash as witnessed by the driver, along with images of mechanics clambering over the vehicle. The camera is still relaying pictures as the car is craned away, confusing the limits of identification between man and machine.

Most opportunity for identification is with Damon Hill, with whom the commentary team appear most familiar, not only on first name terms, but referencing a level of social intimacy:

Walker (excited): "...And Tony Jardine's got Damon with him..."

Hill: "...I could have done with the points"

Jardine: "Well, to be honest, we could have done with the champagne from you tonight"

Hill: "Yeah, well, we'll still have some champagne, whatever"

Walker concludes the interview by reinforcing viewer identification:

Walker: "Everybody's heart goes out to Damon, remarkably composed and genuinely cheerful"

Describing Hill as being "remarkably composed and genuinely cheerful" enables a construction of the hero as archetypically English. Hill is lionised, his failure mechanical and just "pure bad luck when Damon was doing everything absolutely perfectly". His disappointment is, therefore, all the more "bitter" (described as such on two occasions), requiring him to display a stiff upper lip and the Englishness of good humour in defeat:

Walker: "Well, we've seen a bitterly disappointed Damon Hill. Well, he's smiling, he's got a great sense of humour..."

While motor racing supplies a single hero, "one vital, essential man" as Hill is described during the Brazilian Grand Prix (ITV, 30th March 1997), in attendance is the most closely knit of hero teams in the pit. While the driver is associated visually with the social elite - champagne, women, yachts - the pit crew, individually indistinguishable, are associated with tyres and oil, and are almost part of the machine which supplies the "one vital, essential man" with his special powers. Their manual skills offer identification with the physicality of the proletarian male body, at whom Horrocks says the middle class male looks "with envy and a certain excitement" (1995:163), and the noise and filth of their working conditions corresponds with Easthope's assertion that obsession with dirt and the obscene is a third aspect of masculine style. Importantly, however, the pit crew's sacrifice of individual identity for the good of the team unites a romantic narrative of knight and his support, or hero and his helpers, with the



capitalist corporate ideal. The interplay of class and gender, then, is important in the construction of the hero. While the driver relies on the team, he alone faces danger, and the decadence of the setting, littered with advertisements for cigarettes and alcohol, identifies him as above concern for money. That the eventual prize money is likely to account for less than 8 per cent of the total income for the team (Cashmore 1990:187), positions him, if not an amateur *per se*, as so removed from financially motivated victory as to render him a symbolic amateur gentleman. The fact of the affluence of the amateur gentleman to make possible his sporting engagements, of course, was taken for granted in much the same way.

#### 6.4 Snooker: the disciplined man

If motor racing takes place in as public as space as can be found, space for snooker retains its associations with the domestic sphere of a gentlemen's games room. Yet, even in this regard the first of snooker's many contradictions surfaces. Televisually, snooker departs from the frenetic communication model of football or motor racing. We see only two players, a referee, occasional crowd members, subtle graphics at the bottom of the screen (so subtle they look like they are part of the furniture) and, for the majority of the shots, the table. The players wear evening dress. Reminiscent of the kind of man servant found in gentlemen's houses, the referee is in part subservient, part responsible companion, providing structure to the gentleman's days of leisure. He both cleans and repositions the snooker balls, and makes scoring decisions.

The players may dress like gentlemen from the mythical English past so popular in televised sport, but to view their considerable skill is to find the image ridden with contradictions. To develop the skills the players demonstrate, a lifetime's commitment to snooker playing is necessary, and a life devoted to a leisure pursuit is the very opposite of that on which the respectability of the gentleman is premised. Rojek quotes the Victorian, Smiles on this point: "The maxim is often quoted "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy"; but all play and no work makes him something greatly worse" (in Rojek, 1989: 98). Moreover, this skill development time is likely to be spent far from the kind of environment simulated for the television cameras, snooker halls being part of a seamier, working-class culture, the popular image of proficiency at snooker being as the sign of a mis-spent youth.

Yet, while the players are required to dress like gentlemen, they are most definitely not presented as amateur. The details of the potential financial rewards is an important part of the televising of snooker. Dougie Donnelly's opening words to the broadcast on the 22nd April 1996 were:

Donnelly: "Hello, good afternoon once again from The Crucible and it's the third day of this £1.2 million Embassy Snooker Championship of the World".

Later, statistics were presented, taking over the entire screen, which showed a break down of the prize money available for the winner, runner-up, semi- and quarter-finalists, the last sixteen, the last thirty-two, the highest break and the maximum break.

The principal camera shot in snooker shows the table and the consequences of the play rather than the players themselves. At the periphery of the table, the players come into frame only as they lean across the table to take a shot. Yet, the next most popular camera shot is the close up of the players' faces, either in concentration in the process of cueing, or whilst anxiously awaiting the results of an opponent's play. So, while the focus on performance locates snooker in a masculine paradigm, like motor racing or football, the emphasis on the close shot, with its invitation to read the player's face and intuit his emotional state, connects snooker with the feminine address of soap opera. To return a final time to Barnett's figures for male and female audience preference for watching sport, in 1989 at least, snooker was the most popular sport with a male audience (51% expressed an interest in watching it) and the second most popular with a female audience (35%, only 1% below the number who reported an interest in watching ice skating). While statistics do appear, and the graphic score is constantly on screen, their minimal presence and relative low intensity of movement within the image and graphic channels contrast with motor racing and football. It was suggested that an important feature of the televising of football was the constant roar of the crowd. Equally, in motor racing, the roar of the engines is constantly heard. In snooker, the crowd is silent and even the commentators are given to hushed tones. A greater contrast with football, for example, would be hard to find than the scene described by a commentator as:

Voice: "Gary Wilkinson asking the spectators not to whisper so loudly".



The player's physical proximity to the spectators which enables him to speak to them, is also significant. While a racing driver can be barely seen beneath his protective covering, the snooker player is very accessible to the spectator. While racing drivers are rarely shown outside their cars, and footballers leave the pitch after the match, the snooker player sits passively while his opponent plays, all the while under the gaze of the spectators present in the hall, or, via constant close ups, of the many watching television.

In football and motor racing, the commentators' familiarity with the players was noted, exemplified by a use of first names and jocular banter. This style of commentator-player intimacy is similarly created in snooker:

Donnelly (to Dennis Taylor): "When we come back we'll be seeing your old mate, Willie Thorne..."

With snooker, however, intimacy with the players goes beyond that of football and motor racing. In the latter, a thorough familiarity with the drivers' machine is presented, and the technical banter which characterises both pre- and post race discussion is a symptom of this. Snooker makes available no similar technical equipment, the special powers being intrinsic to the player himself. As a result, it is the player himself that is the subject of conversation for the commentary team. Much of the commentary, then, focuses on the players' intentions, motives and emotional state, all the while attributing to him a very complex interior mental life, such that is not considered by commentators of football or motor racing:

David Vine: [close shot: Jimmy White rubbing the back of his head]  
"Yes, Jimmy rubbed the back of his head. That was enough. He was back level at five all".

Voice 1: "The mood he's in, I think Jimmy will take this red on..."

Voice 2: "Sorry, John, I was just going to say it's not so much his mood, it's his cueing. He really is hitting the ball well".

Voice 1: "Yes, I don't know what it is, but there's something about him tonight. But he looks very comfortable, cueing well and thinking well".

While the focus on skill and performance in this extract is reminiscent of football talk, where the acquisition of special powers is similarly achieved through dint of effort, and the mathematics of the performance itself connects with the technical

focus of motor racing, these aspects are bound up with an emphasis on the player's emotional state unusual for televised sport's masculine narrative.

Yet, while discussion of the players' emotions are an important feature of televised snooker, success is clearly dependent on keeping them under control. The successful snooker player does not let his anxieties affect his play:

Voice: "Very steady stuff from Henderson. He's held himself together very well"

Voice: "He's playing with his old self-assurance"

Voice: "What player could be under more pressure than Jimmy White is under at the moment?"

The more emotional a player, then, the more there is to keep under control, hence the popularity of such characters as Higgins, White, and, more recently, Ronnie O'Sullivan. The self-control of the players is more poignant when the viewer has been made aware that such control is difficult for them, either by constant reference to the pressure the players must feel, the closeness of the score or the expectations of the crowd:

Voice: "If Jimmy does win this there'll probably be the biggest roar The Crucible's heard"

The heroism of snooker players, then, resides in their ability to keep their nerve despite the difficulty of the situation. Remarkable capacities for self control are required to "survive in the Embassy Championship of the World" as David Vine puts it, and once again, the qualities of the gentleman are invoked as accompanying heroism:

Voice: [On Jimmy White] "He's such a favourite and rightly so. Not just because of his skill but the way he plays - perfect manners at the table, courtesy to opponents. Everybody on the circuit likes him".

Voice: [Red towel sails over Ebdon's head and crowd laughs] "And Jimmy throws the towel in. The hand shake. It really has been a wonderful match played in a most sporting manner".



When outbursts from the players do occur, they are in marked contrast both to the silence surrounding the contest, and to the etiquette of the game. Peter Ebdon yelling "Come on, come on!" repeatedly with a clenched fist and a pained expression was dramatic enough to warrant a replay and comment from David Vine (BBC 2, 25th April 1996), but simultaneously laughed off:

Vine: "...unmistakably Peter Ebdon, shouting out the story so far of his Embassy World Championship match with Jimmy White here tonight"

Not laughed off, however, was the controversial behaviour of Ronnie O'Sullivan during the 1996 Championships. His assault on a tournament official earned him a (suspended) two year ban, a £20,000 fine, and a £10,000 voluntary donation to charity. This information was presented against a black background, underlying the seriousness of the issue, and alongside a still photograph of O'Sullivan looking sulky and ill at ease in a dress shirt, bow tie and waistcoat. Appearing at the press conference following the decision of the World Professional Billiards and Snooker Association disciplinary committee, O'Sullivan was by contrast, dressed in a casual, black Adidas track suit, indicative perhaps of an ongoing rebelliousness which contradicted his statement. Significantly stumbling over the words "disciplinary" and "assurance", the camera held him in close up while he read his statement:

O'Sullivan: "I would like to apologise most sincerely to Michael Ganley, my fellow professionals, and Embassy for my out of character behaviour. I would like to thank the disciplinary committee of the WPBSA for giving me the opportunity to continue to play the game that I love. I give them my assurance that from here on I shall use my very best endeavours to be a model professional and an ambassador for the game and for the snooker association. I shall be making no further statement. Thank you".

Being shown thanking those who discipline him is the beginning of a sequence which has as its effect the infantilisation of O'Sullivan and players like him (Higgins is mentioned) and the positioning of the BBC in a corresponding parental role. Virgo, a snooker player cum commentator clearly identifies himself, and by association, the BBC with the WPBSA in his discussion of the O'Sullivan case with Dougie Donnelly:

Virgo: "...the WPBSA has a long history of trying to sort out people, i.e. with Alex Higgins. I think we fail there sometimes because we are a little bit too lenient and maybe we should have been stronger. The main thing is at the end of the day the association have got to try to impose, to me, a punishment that helps Ronnie not to do this again and I think the two year suspended sentence hanging over his head hopefully will help him. I mean it is out of character, to be perfectly honest with you, what he did, and, er, hopefully it is enough punishment to - to rap him on the knuckles and also to help him in the future not to repeat this type of incident".

The disciplining of Ronnie O'Sullivan by the committee is interesting to consider as one aspect of the disciplining of the working-class masculinity which is central to snooker, and the portrayal of which is the focus of the television spectacle. Televised snooker shows players under constant surveillance and constructs a discourse central to which is their inner struggle to control their emotions in order to win. They are constrained by the formality of their attire, with its associations of gentlemanly conduct, which, when applied to working-class masculinity always tends to look a lot like deference alone. Similarly, they are constrained by the presence of the referee, with his air of the morally superior subordinate, symbolic in the whiteness of his gloves. The eruptions of the working-class male body which Horrocks (1995) is interested by are, then, firmly kept in their place.

The infantilisation of working-class masculinity in snooker would appear to correspond with the way women are represented in ice skating. Corporeality, too, has associations with femininity. If Horrocks considers sport to represent the working-class male as "corporeal, gross, erupting" (1995:163), then they are being presented according to a code frequently applied to the feminine. Likewise, the feminine body has suffered centuries of restraint, and been suspected of uncontrollable emotionalism. The popularity of snooker with a female audience could be considered the result of a feminine identification with the dynamics of control central to the televising of snooker. Certainly, the gaze of the mother is sought by features like the "Hot Tots" competition, where photographs of snooker players as babies are shown, accompanied by the sound of a baby crying, and a rock 'n' roll tune with the words, "Ooh, little baby doll". A phone number is provided for viewers to call if they are able to identify the adult player from a choice of three.



Interesting too, is the way snooker players respond to the restrictions of the dress code. Virgo and others have popularised the flashy waistcoat, a technique by which players attempt to achieve individuality within the restraints of snooker's formal uniform. Yet, Lingis, relying on de Saussure and Foucault has suggested,

In the disciplinary regime, the individuality of the individual is marked by a degree of approximation to the norm, but the norm itself is nothing but the measure of the mean range of variations. In de Saussure's terminology we could say that the individuality of the individual has no meaning. Maintained visible in its post, comparable with the constellation of other individuals with which it can be substituted, the individuated body has, or is, a value (1994:60).

Televised snooker can be seen, then, as a disciplinary process for the working-class male body, and the features which more usually belong to "feminine texts" - infantilisation; close ups; emphasis on emotions - are part of this. Horrocks has said:

A complex interplay of gender and class seems to determine the way in which order and disorder are transmitted in various sports, and there seems little doubt that subliminal "debates" go on in sport about the tensions between control and democracy, corporate endeavour and individual freedom, law and lawlessness (1995:148).

Snooker would appear to provide plentiful evidence for his suspicions. Despite the constraints and the frustrations of the urge for individuality, the more lawless a player the more likely he is to enter the star system. Even so, it is doubtful whether it is ever possible to burst out of confines of the mode of masculinity imposed by snooker. Possibly it is this tension - even above the game itself - which is its fundamental appeal.

## Chapter Seven

### Conclusions

As a result of my analysis of tennis, football, ice skating, motor racing and snooker, certain conclusions can be drawn. From an exploration of the current approaches to the study of relationship between gender and the media in Chapter One, advances in feminist theory which have incorporated insights from poststructuralism were considered to provide appropriate background theory from which it might be possible to address my central question: why is sport disproportionately popular with a male, and not female, television audience?

My focus on the audience of televised sport grew from contemporary developments in cultural and media studies which have investigated the phenomenon of "gendered genres", where particular television genres have been found to be popular with a gender-specific audience. Focusing primarily on soap opera, this work offered a critique of approaches to the analysis of media texts which, influenced by film studies, take no account of the active response of the viewer. However, since I was interested in researching not only an audience's reasons for viewing, but also for their not viewing, something that would be extremely difficult for the non-audience to articulate, I remained concerned with the text. Not wishing to treat the text in isolation from the viewer, I sought to conceptualise the interaction between text and audience. In this regard, Mills' (1992) model of textual address which conceived of an active audience, but one which was not uniformly implicated in the same way all of the time, was considered to offer a way into an analysis of the address of televised sport. In particular, she offered three possibilities of self-identification which could be adapted to account for the experience of the audience for television sport. The audience could identify with the speaker, as the addressee, or, as an overhearer of the interaction. In particular, insights into television viewing habits that suggest much of it would happen regardless of what was shown, do appear to correspond with the conception of a major part of the audience as overhearers of a televisual address to which they might only occasionally respond. What, then, could be said to account for an audience member stepping into the address of television sport formed the basis of the problem to which my research intended to respond, and, by drawing together the findings from sustained semiotic analyses of five



televised sports, it is possible to suggest that there is both a masculine and a feminine address identifiable in televised sport. Buscombe's (1975) assertion that televised sport was a mixed genre extends, then, to its mixing of gendered address, summarised in figure 7.1:

Masculine Address	Feminine Address
<i>Football</i>	<i>Tennis</i>
<i>Motor racing</i>	<i>Ice Skating</i>
<i>Snooker</i>	<i>Snooker</i>
<i>Men's Tennis</i>	
Invention of tradition;	
Hero/Hero team:	Sensitive male lead;
amateur gentleman;	
Communicative excess;	
Effect of realism;	Soap opera;
Clarity (statistics/technology/rules);	Close up;
Banter (talk/graphics);	Pseudo-domestic setting;
Obscenity (grime/physicality);	
Marginalisation of femininity;	Infantalisation;
	Passivity of adult femininity;
Disciplining of working-class masculinity.	Disciplining of working-class masculinity

**Figure 7.1 The Gendered Address of Televised Sport**

The findings represented in figure 7.1 are drawn from my analyses of men's and women's tennis, football, snooker and motor racing (men's), and ice skating (men's and women's). My analyses were not entirely linear, the outcome of my transcription of the signifiers of each broadcast prompting me to explore a new body of literature, so that my analysis was text-led, rather than being predetermined by my prior assumptions of what I might find there. The first analysis of tennis - a match between Greg Rusedski and Pete Sampras - revealed a discourse of nostalgic nationhood to be in evidence in the televising of Wimbledon, which centred on the figure of the Victorian gentleman amateur, whose characteristics were televisually conferred on Rusedski as representative

of British chances in the championship. Discourses of ethnicity, nationhood and class were considered, then, as not separate from, but integral to, the televisual construction of masculinity in sport. It was this version of heroic masculinity which was determined to be constitutive of the masculine address of tennis.

However, certain aspects of the televising of Wimbledon could also be seen to correspond with characteristics that have been associated with soap opera's feminine address, namely, the extensive use of close ups, its pseudo domestic setting, its sensitive male hero and the romantic nostalgia of its associations with middle class heterosexual courting opportunities. These features were further illuminated by analysis of the ladies' singles final of 1996, where they were compounded by references to bouquets, fudge, butterflies in tummies, the competitors' wearing short skirts and pony tails and being televisually positioned as marriageable daughters.

The analysis of the Rusedski v Sampras match, then, was successful in throwing light on the gendering of the address of televised sport, but there were limitations to the presentation of what I considered to be the signifiers within the television text. I had transcribed activity within the five channels of communication identified by Seiter (1992) and reassembled part of that transcription (the first three games of the match) in a format which captured the simultaneity and the flow of television, yet, I considered that all aspects of the televising of Wimbledon, not simply the live action, should be presented in this way. With that in mind, I analysed a short film featuring the men's singles finalist of 1996, Mal Washington, and presented my first stage analysis as an example of both methodological refinement and confirmation of the importance of ethnicity and nationhood in the construction of the hero in the narrative of Wimbledon. Washington was televisually constructed as an American Dreamer, and thus excluded from the discourse of the amateur gentleman. The cultural myth of Britishness discernible in an attitude to sport can thus be seen both to inform the BBC's televisualisation of Wimbledon and be promulgated by it.

Yet, the way physically active women were negotiated within the narrative remained an object of inquiry. Hence, the analysis of the final between Steffi Graf and Arantxa Sanchez Vicario was conducted. While the signifiers of romantic femininity were very much in evidence, as indicated above, so was their strength, skill and competitive energy, which provided an ambivalent spectacle. The ambivalence with which television treats women's sport had already been



highlighted by Duncan and Hasbrook (1988), but remained untheorised in their account.

I turned to the work of Laura Mulvey to make sense of this contradiction at the heart of the televising of women's sport. Since I had previously noted the explanatory potential of considering sport as narrative, Mulvey's (1993) interest in Propp's character functions to illuminate the impossibility of female heroism in *Duel in the Sun*, offered a theoretical account with which it was possible to compare the Graf v Sanchez match. Like the female character in *Duel in the Sun*, who was equally untenable as a "masculine" companion to one suitor or as a "feminine" bride to another, Graf and Sanchez fitted uneasily into a narrative that insisted on the masculinity of the hero function, and reserved femininity for the provision of closure (traditionally, the wedding). While "correct" femininity was televisually inscribed in their costumes, bouquets and the narrative of the pre-match films, the head-to-head competition constructed them as heroic, yet each narrative function was undermined by the other.

Analysis of a football match broadcast by ITV as part of Euro '96 between England and Holland saw the conventions for televising football to have endured since Buscombe's analysis in 1975. The use of a synthesised Jerusalem theme tune to ITV's Euro '96 coverage, which accompanied images from the sponsor Vauxhall Vectra and pastoral scenes that appeared to illustrate the (absent) lyrics, I concluded to be constitutive of an invention of tradition addressed to a new aspirant middle class audience. I was able to identify in the football text, the three elements of masculine style Easthope (1990) had outlined. Clarity and the fetishisation of truth was seen to be exemplified by the effect of realism, the graphic diagrams and statistics, the continual discussion of rule infringement and the fantasy of democracy. It was noted that, when disagreements occurred, the visual realm - the gaze - was considered by the commentators the final arbiter. The use of banter in both voice and image was identified as the second element of masculine style in football. As a central feature of football talk, it was the form of the discourse rather than the content which was considered most important. Banter, as an approach to intimacy between men was seen ultimately to deny personal revelation, its differentiating factor from the style of "feminine" communication, women's gossip, to which Finlay and Johnson (1997) suggested it to have most in common. Finally, the media obsession with Gascoigne's physicality was considered an example of obscenity, Easthope's third element of masculine style. The work of Gilligan (1982) on the gendering of moral



development, was invoked to make sense of the masculine appeal of football, and to suggest that an increase in interest in football by a female audience might signal a change in women's attitude to intimacy and success.

In contrast, ice skating, a sport the popularity of which, according to Barnett's (1990) figures, is to be found predominately among a female audience was analysed to throw further light on television's (re)presentation of female athletes. Importantly, it was considered that the particular narrative of ice skating corresponded with that of the fairytale, but a fairytale that had been informed by its Hollywood manifestations. The character functions of the Proppian folktale were found to have continuing relevance in explaining the characterisation of the female skaters as young girls, even little princesses. Their conformity with stereotypical markers of "correct" femininity was considered evidence of their performing a narrative function of princess, providing closure in symbolic marriage to the masculine hero. Here, the sustained televisual construction of female athletes as children, observable in my analysis, and in the work of Daddario (1994) and Duncan and Hasbrook (1988), was understood as a feature of sport's narrative in which adult femininity is subjugated to the male. The effect of passivity that the female partner in pairs creates can be understood as the narrative function of the female once symbolically "wedded" to a man. Analysis of the male skaters' music, costume and choreography revealed that, although ice skating could be said to depart from a stereotype of sporting masculinity, the styles of masculinity available for adoption by the competitors remained heavily constrained by the range of cultural codes for the expression of physically active masculinity.

Analysis of motor racing provided more evidence to support the importance of the amateur gentleman in the narrative of British televised sport, the embodiment of which was Damon Hill. The elements of masculine style observable in football took on their own motor racing specificity: emphasis on technology and statistics (clarity); motor racing talk (banter); grime of the pit (obscenity). In addition, motor racing was seen to correspond with Fiske's (1987) eight characteristics of masculine narrative, and the role of women in providing glamour and contributing to narrative closure reinforced the importance of the marginalisation of adult femininity in the narrative of televised sport.

Finally, snooker was analysed as a sport which attracts a large male audience as well as a significant female following (Barnett, 1990). While the televising of



snooker was considered to evoke the leisure activity of the gentleman, this time there was no attempt to co-opt the players into the code of amateurism. And, while there were some comparable elements of the masculine style found in football and motor racing in evidence, like the jocular banter of the commentators, there was a significantly greater degree of intimacy in their discussions of the players' emotional states. The normal camera shot observes the effects of the players' performance, yet most other shots are close ups of their faces - something previously associated with a feminine address. Analysis of the way the controversial behaviour of Ronnie O'Sullivan was presented, his corresponding infantilisation, and the commentators' interest in the players' capacity to control their emotions, led me to consider that the disciplining of working-class masculinity was central to the narrative of snooker. Here, in order to attain the status of adult hero, the player must control his potentially disruptive physicality. The comparability with the televisualisation of Gascoigne was noted, as were points of contact with the (re)presentation of female athletes and the dominant cultural location of femininity on the physical side of an emotional-intellectual polarity.

That the gendered address of televised sport can vary by sport is indicated by the viewing figures. The aim of my research was to isolate the markers within televised sports broadcasts that could be said to constitute that varying address. On the basis of the work I have completed, then, I would suggest that what unites British televised sport programming that statistics have indicated to be popular with a male audience is, an invention of tradition, a hero or hero team which exhibits the characteristics of mythical Britishness in correspondence with the invented tradition, clarity, of which the tradition is part, banter, and obscenity - the same features that have, traditionally, not extended their appeal to a female audience. The narrative of televised sport requires femininity to be marginalised to confirm the masculinity of the hero, and the hero has to conform to a middle class Imaginary. As a result, certain forms of televised sport can be seen to represent the disciplining of working-class masculinity, whether it be football's nostalgic longing for the honourable player of the 1960s or Ronnie O'Sullivan's chastisement at the hands of the snooker establishment.

The infantilisation of working-class masculinity that this process effects also encourages the gaze of the mother, the spectator of soap opera, and the focus on emotion, use of close ups and simulated domestic connotations of tennis, ice skating and snooker construct the feminine address of these sports. Within the



narrative of these televised sports which are popular with a female audience, active femininity, when presented, is constructed as immature, but unlike the infantilised sportsmen, achieving adulthood within the sporting narrative is beyond their reach. On the rare occasions that mature femininity is represented, it is in terms of the passivity exemplified by the female partner in pairs skating. Physically active femininity remains adolescent, a property of a daughter or a little princess, something to be relinquished in favour of adult womanhood, an eventuality that the bouquets and coquettish garments - signifiers of romantic heterosexuality - prefigure.

## 7.1 Text or Audience? The Importance of Further Work

In Chapter One, the debate as to the merits of textual analysis of the media versus ethnographic studies of their audience was addressed. Criticisms of theories of audience positioning by the text on the grounds of an unwarranted determinism and an assumption of a universal audience experience were weighed against the justifications given by proponents of an ethnographic approach who acknowledge the active interpretative strategies of audience members and analyse how far the cultural codes of the audience diverge from the codes of producers. I considered that it was important not to conceptualise the audience as passive nor homogenous, but, I foresaw difficulties with relying on studies of the audience since I was interested partly in what a female audience might reject in televised sport, something the audience might have little inclination to articulate. As a result, textual analysis continued to represent a fruitful field for enquiry, and the model of textual address I adopted from the work of Mills (1992) conceptualised the audience as not always implicated in the same way all of the time, and so avoided the criticisms of the more deterministic approaches.

Textual analysis has revealed the importance of the gendered narrative in televised sport, a finding that would have been unlikely to result from audience ethnography alone. My concerns about the adequacy of calls for increased coverage of women's sport by the media which have regularly emerged from the work of sports feminists have, therefore, been well founded. Without addressing the underlying logic of representation which rests on the highly gendered folktale narrative of televised sport, calls for more women's sport on television are likely to be ineffectual. If, on the other hand, they do meet with success, the resulting representations will be fraught with contradiction - women's sport will continue to encounter the ambivalence of contemporary televisualisation, or it will be co-



opted into the masculine hero narrative of men's sport, an occurrence which will remain contradictory because of the conflictual femininity of the participants. In this last case, the comparisons to Mulvey's (1993) analysis of *Duel in the Sun* remains vital. Yet, unlike filmic narrative, the narrative of televised sport does not recognise itself as narrative. The effect of realism, the concern with clarity, conceal the narrative by creating a sense of transparency wherein the actuality of the "pro-filmic event" in Buscombe's (1975) term appears to be neutrally relayed via the minimum of televisual construction. Yet, it has been shown that television is never neutral and the excess of communication which analysis of the Euro '96 football match between England and Holland revealed is not only testimony to that, but another feature by which the simplicity of the gendered narrative underlying sport is obscured. Uncovering the narrative of televised sport, however, allows it to be challenged, which offers the possibility of change.

I have suggested that the text of televised sport offers its audience gendered subject positions which may or may not be taken up by male or female persons in the actual audience. As such I am in agreement with Ang and Hermes (1992:316) when they say that "subjectivity is non-unitary...never finished, constantly in reproduction". However, Ang and Hermes go on to suggest that there is "considerable social and cultural pressure on female and male persons, to invest in feminine and masculine subject positions respectively" (1992:317). Accordingly, more men will watch sports with a predominantly masculine narrative and more women those with a feminine narrative. In this respect a research question which remains pressing is, what do male and female persons have invested in identifying with the masculine and feminine subject positions offered by televised sport? Is the promise of intimacy or solidarity the reward for identifying with the address of televised football? What is the reward for the female viewers of women's tennis, with its contradictory displays of heterosexual romance and female heroism? Ethnographic work has value in investigating how actual audience members respond to the address of televised sport. Future research along these lines would be able to consider how male audiences respond to men's sport, female audiences to the ambivalent representation of women's sport, and whether female audiences for men's sport respond differently from male audiences.

Having suggested that an increase in female spectatorship for men's football could be considered indicative of a change in women's attitude to intimacy and success, the debate as to whether such a phenomenon has a liberatory portent or

is simply evidence of women's seduction into the previously masculine-addressed ideology of capitalism, remains complex but pressing. Popular feminist views, like that expressed by Linda Grant in *The Guardian* (12/8/97:8), suggest that an increase in female football fanship is part of a female "colonisation of male culture"):

An examination of the shop at the Barcelona [F.C.] ground reveals a wide range of merchandise to appeal to the female supporter, including the club's very own brand of perfume and leather jackets, in which the Barca logo is so discreet as to be confined to the lining. This clearly is the way forward for football.

Yet, the female address of supporters' clubs' merchandise, remaining as it does firmly within the sphere of calculated commercialisation, might lead us to question who is colonising whom? Grant's arguments that, since football is where men show their emotions, women want to "be there too, emoting beside [them]", is complicated by the analyses (chapter 5) which point to how the masculine style of football, in its televised form at least, sets limits to its approach to emotional intimacy. If, as Grant concludes, football is "just an expensive bit of fun", then female consumers are simply being effectively exploited by its producers. If, it is an important means of approaching fears of intimacy and failure, then the experience of these fears in women indicates a change in their relationship to cultural power. Galperin (1988) has argued that traditional 'women's media' as exemplified by soap opera, demystifies patriarchy and therefore appeals to those disenfranchised by patriarchal society, mostly women therefore, while sport television "recuperates the stereotypes of power and authority", mystifying patriarchal power once more. Just as women become less completely socially disenfranchised, so sport television's mystification of the heroic increasingly appeals to them. Earlier in his article, Galperin indicated the heart of the problem:

Some feminists regard the achievement of power (and the establishment of a women's tradition) a desirable end for women, while others view such an achievement as a repetition of the very hierarchy that women should forcefully resist (154).

Yet, either way, so far at least, a "women's tradition" in professional football is little heralded by an increase of support for men's football by women, and as



commercially oriented sport achieves hegemony, women's alternatives in the amateur sphere recede. Calls for increased coverage for women's sport do not necessarily correspond with an increase in women's spectatorship of men's sport, and if coverage of men's sport is open to criticism for its mystification of the heroic which marginalises femininity, then finding a new way of representing women's sport which steps outside this pervasive narrative, is a long way off. How women might achieve some degree of autonomy within their sporting practices, neither attempting to fit themselves uneasily into a masculine paradigm nor rejecting sportive physical activity as not concerning them, is a subject for future research.

Additional work extends to the contemporary importance of commercial considerations in the perpetuation of cultural myths in televised sport. It was suggested that analysis of the gendered address of athletics would be illuminating, but available space would not allow me to do justice to its growing commercialisation. Increasingly, sports equipment multinational corporations have sought to manipulate the address of athletics, and gender and ethnicity have been an important part of this. Analysis of the gendered address of the 1996 Summer Olympic Games as televised by the BBC could compare the case of international athletics to my previous research findings. Equally pressing is the need to assess how far the advertising strategies of the multinational corporations are linked to the continued creation of gendered cultural myths in sport, particularly since young sports minded women promise to be a principal new target group at whom the multinationals are seeking to address their advertising, using both the print media and television. An investigation into the advertising this venture yields as well as its reception by the young female target audience, will be an important next step.

In conclusion, then, this thesis argues that there exists a gendered narrative within televised sport which conceives of a masculine hero and requires the presence of femininity only to provide closure. Further, it is necessary to challenge this narrative for two reasons: so that television may give sportswomen recognition for their achievements, and to provide the 'I-slots' which will allow female viewers to recognise themselves within the address of televised sport.

**Missing pages are unavailable**



Graphics

Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
Close shot: Lynam (behind desk just visible at bottom of screen); activity on courts visible in background.	"...Here on 1, just at the moment we're looking forward to the ladies' final. Will it be Arantxa or will it be Steffi?"	(Mexican-type accent)	
Close shot: Graf, concentrating on receiving serve.			"I'm going to be a sledgehammer.
Full shot: Graf - serving (right side of court).			
Full shot: Graf - forehand (left side of court).			
Full shot: Graf - backhand (right side of court).			This can be my testimony.
Full shot: Graf - forehand (left).			Ahhh! (scream)
Full shot: Graf - backhand (right).			I'm your sledgehammer.
Full shot: Graf, exclaiming (right).			There can be no doubt about it.
Full shot: Graf - forehand (left).			Sledge..."
Full shot: Graf - forehand (right).			
Full shot: Graf - backhand (left).			
Full shot: Graf - forehand (right).			
Full shot: Graf - forehand volley (left); smiling and clenching fist.			
Long shot (above & behind opponent): Graf serves and wins point.			
Full shot: Graf raising racket above head in victory; walking to net.	Commentator: "That's it!" Umpire: "Game, set and match, Miss Graf"	Crowd cheering and applauding.	
Full shot: Graf kissing opponent (Sanchez Vicario).	Commentator: "Same place, same opponent last year, but the twelve months in between		
Close shot: players walking to shake hands with umpire, on	have come close to being an annus horribilis for Steffi Graf.		

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	separate sides of the net.	That her father has spent the time in jail		
	Close shot: Graf with father.	is an anguish she's had to live with.		
	Close shot: Graf's father inHis past contribution to her success, crowd cheering, his arms raised in victory.	she's sought to put on record.		
	Black & white still photograph of Graf being kissed by her father, who is bending down from spectators' stand, while she is being lifted up to reach him; zooming in on faces.	Fear of the trial in September can rarely		
	Close shot: Graf's father (from below), reaching down.	have been far from her mind.		
	Full shot: Graf arching back, appearing to be in pain (in slow motion).	The physical injuries have paled in comparison, though to the chronic back problem was added a chipped bone in her left foot.		
	Close shot: Graf's head buried in towel.	Surgery in December, forcing her to miss the Australian Open.		
	Full shot: Graf grinning, tensing arms and holding head.	The comeback in the French was remarkable even by Graf's standards.	Muted crowd cheers.	
	Full shot: Graf holding and kissing trophy.	A ten-eight, third set victory over the same Arantxa		
	Close shot: Graf with trophy.	bringing a nineteenth grand slam success.		
	Full shot: Graf and opponent emerging from courtyard building and walking past line of officials, to get onto court.	Back in her adopted home in South West London, there was a definite spring in her step...	Crowd cheers.	
			Crowd applauding	



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Close shot: Graf in studio, green leaves and trellis behind her head.	"I think it's much better to come back as a champion of a tournament and the tradition, especially here at Wimbledon, to be able to play the first match on the second day. I think that's something I always look forward to"	cheering.	
	Full shot: Graf sitting next to Umpire's chair, drinking. concerns.	Lynam: "There were further injury		
	Close shot: Graf's knee, with sticking plaster.	This time the left knee. But no-one is more bored by being asked to comment on her medical history.		
	Close shot: Graf in studio, because I think I've been having enough injuries and I've talked about two male players in animated play.	"I don't really want to talk about it		
	Close shot: Graf signing autographs for children.	them more than enough and I don't feel like talking about them anymore"		
	close shot of television screen showing England v Germany Euro 96 football match.	Lynam: "But she's had time for everyone this year: disabled children, autograph hunters and not least her country's footballers		
	Long shot: crowd in dark watching big screen outside.	though, having thought about going to Wembley, she was eventually counted amongst the millions watching on television"		
	Close shot: Graf in studio, with leaves and trellis behind her.	"Obviously I'm for Germany, so for me the right team won. Maybe not for you. But it was an exciting match and I think, even, even,		

Graphics

Image

Voice

Sound effects

Music

you could see the English players, they enjoyed it very much and you could see them hugging each other, and it was fun to watch"

Long shot (from above & behind Novotna): Graf on court.

Lynam: "So was she, for all but Jana Novotna, in a superb performance in the quarter finals"

Close shot: Graf pulling off her head band.

Umpire: "Game, set and match, Miss Graf"

Close shot: Novotna.

Close shot (from behind

Novotna): players walking to net to shake hands.

Close shot: Date;

Lynam: "The semi-final though, a date with Date, brought unexpected questions.

Date smiles.

Close shot: Graf smiling.

(Female) commentator: "Does she have an answer? She's thinking about it anyway"

Close shot: Date about to serve.

Lynam: "The tennis answer

Long shot (above & behind

had to wait until morning.

Date): Graf wins point.

Close shot: Graf.

Close shot: Sanchez waiting to receive serve (in slow motion).

Interviewer: "Now you're all ready for another three set match and probably a twenty minute game against Sanchez

Crowd cheering, applauding and whistling.

From crowd member:  
"Steffi, will you marry me?" Crowd laughs.

Graf: "How much money do you have?" Crowd roars with laughter.

Crowd sighs and cheers and applauds.



Graphics

Image

Close shot: Graf in studio, leaves and trellis background.

Voice

Vicario"

"My favourite game is probably staying back and playing a lot of, a lot of running points, and she can pass really well, especially her cross-court passes are extremely good. But still I think I will have to come in a little bit more than I've been in the last three games"

Lynam: "Persuading herself to do that holds the key to what would be her one hundredth tournament victory, and at Wimbledon a magnificent seven

Sound effects

Graf laughs.

Music

Muted noise of crowd.

Close shot: Graf holding trophy.  
Close shot: Graf holding trophy and waving (in slow motion).  
Close shot: Graf, with head thrown back and arm raised.  
Full shot: Graf holding trophy.  
Full shot: Graf, with head back and hands and racket raised in victory.

Close shot: Graf and Sanchez, Sanchez swapping smaller trophy for larger one.  
Full shot (behind Graf): Graf shaking Date's hand over net, and walking to shake umpire's hand.

Close shot: Graf shaking hands with umpire (in slow motion).  
Close shot: Graf in studio, with

Theme tune from "The Magnificent Seven"

Crowd cheering.

music ends.

Interviewer: "Everyone seems surprised that it still means as much to you" "Why?"

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	leaves and trellis background.	"I don't know why, but, you know, seven times if you win again..." "I think just to be here again in the final is something special to me, and, knowing how I started before this tournament, came here on Saturday, you know, before Wimbledon started, definitely didn't have the best of preparations, and to be here in the final was something - when I came here, sure, tell me about it! It was so far away, so you can imagine that it is special for me to be here"	Interviewer laughs.	Music from "Carmen".
	Full shot: Sanchez serving (in slow motion). Full shot: Sanchez - double-handed backhand (slow motion). Full shot: Sanchez - forehand (slow motion). Full shot: Sanchez - double-handed backhand (slow motion). Full shot: Sanchez - raising arms and racket in victory (slow motion). Close shot: Sanchez grinning, with clenched fist and raised racket. Close shot: woman in crowd (Sanchez's mother) waving ...and smiling. Close shot: Sanchez - forehand and double-handed backhand			
				Faster music.



Graphics

Image

(left side of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez -double-handed backhand (right side of court).  
Close shot: Sanchez - backhand and forehand (left of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez - backhand (right of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez - forehand (left of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez - backhand (right of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez -forehand (left of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez - double - handed backhand (right of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez - double-handed backhand (left of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez running to reach double-handed backhand (right of court).  
Full shot: Sanchez -double-handed backhand (left of court).  
Close shot: Sanchez, fist clenched in victory, and clapping with head of racket.

Voice

Voice-over:"A bubbly, enthusiastic and instantly likeable character, Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, twenty-four and in her second successive final, having swamped Meredith McGrath in the semi-final"

Sound effects

Music

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Close shot: Sanchez in studio, with background of white trellis and green leaves.	"I started since the beginning playing really well and, er, I didn't want to be there too long after waiting, you know, the whole day and I knew if I started well since the beginning, she was going to have more trouble and I guess I did a great job and I'm very happy with the conditions because I think I didn't lose many shots and it was a great match for me"		
	Full shot: Sanchez and opponent, curtseying and walking off court.	Interviewer: "Can you actually describe your feelings about being in another final?"		
	Close shot: Sanchez in studio, tilting her head forward to hear.	"Well, it's so hard to say with words, I think it's more emotional. I think that I believe more myself that I can do more here and it's great to be in the final for the second time in a row and I think I make history again and you know, I think maybe later I can say more, but I'm very happy at the moment, and very pleased at the way everything is going for me at the moment"		
	Long shot: crowd clapping, zooming in to a woman's face (Sanchez's mother).	Voice-over: "For the big tournaments mum's not very far away, and she was watching anxiously		
	Close shot: Sanchez inspecting racket.	when Arantxa met Steffi Graf		
	Close shot: Graf.	in her first grand slam final. The year was 1989 and		



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
(Bottom centre of screen, letters yellow, underline inbehind net). orange): SANCHEZ Balle de Match	Close shot: Sanchez (from become the French champion.	Arantxa was about to become the French champion.		
	Long shot (from high above Graf): Sanchez and Graf playing on an orange-brown clay court: Sanchez wins point. Close shot (from ground level): Sanchez rolling on ground, then getting up covered in clay, and hugging Graf. Close shot: Sanchez holding trophy.	Umpire: "Jeu, set et match..." Voice-over: "Since that memorable moment in Paris seven years ago	Crowd roars.	
	Close shot: trophy. Long shot (above & behind Graf): Sanchez and Graf on clay court...	Arantxa also beat her great rival in the U.S. Open in 1994, but since then they've met three other times in grand slam finals and Steffi's always finished on top. The most recent victory was in Paris last month	Crowd cheering and applauding.	
	Graf wins point. Full shot (from behind net): Graf with head in hands. Close shot: Sanchez. Full shot: Graf and Sanchez embrace. Close shot: Sanchez in front	Umpire: "Jeu, set et match, Mlle Graf...  ...six-trois, six-sept, dix-huit"  Voice-over: "Once again this year,	Grunts and groans from players and hollow sound of balls being hit. Crowd cheers and applauds.	

Graphics

Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
seat of car, turning and leaning into camera located in back seat, seat talking and laughing with others in back seat of car. Close shot: Graf on court.	Arantxa is staying just a short drive from the All England club and hoping today for a change in fortune.  A nail-biting final last year saw them locked together at one set a-piece, and incredibly		
Long shot (above & behind Graf): Sanchez and Graf on court... Sanchez wins point. Close shot: Sanchez throws head back and talks to sky.	at five-all, the eleventh game lasted twenty minutes. There was some breath-taking action.		
Close shot: Graf and Sanchez with respective trophies, Sanchez taking Graf's and Arantxa offering hers in exchange.	But try as she might, Steffi was to be crowned champion once again. Arantxa took defeat in good heart, but now she's relishing today's encounter" "For me, it was tougher maybe the " quarter-finals, semi-finals then getting to the final	Grunts from players, gasps from crowd. Sanchez: "yes!" Crowd explodes with roar of applause.	
Close shot: Sanchez in studio with background of leaves and trellis.	because now I just think I've got nothing to lose and probably, I was good, I should have got to the final, and here I am. I can be more relaxed for sure now" Interviewer: "You're here again with your mum and dad" "Yes" "Does that help you that you can go home tonight and sit around the family table and chat with them rather than a dull old hotel room?"		
Close shot: mother in crowd. Close shot: father in crowd. Close shot: woman's hands placing ham in frying pan...			



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	shot widens to reveal Sanchez's parents over frying pan in a domestic interior.	"Yes definitely, I think it's nice because you feel at home, kind of, like at home a little bit. I mean, you feel far away, but you have your family and you're having a good time,	Sounds of family talking.	
	Close shot: green beans in a sieve over a saucepan.			
	Close shot: Sanchez in studio, leaves and trellis background.	you know, thinking about, you know, tomorrow and getting ready for the final but, er, it's nice to have my family with me that's for sure" Interviewer:		
		"And Steffi Graf in the final - what are your thoughts?"		
		"I think, probably, people are expecting that final, so I think she has more pressure than I do.		
	Full shot: Graf - forehand and backhand.	Getting to the final for me, you know, is the best that can happen, you know, and I just think that a little bit of luck this time and hopefully I'll play as good as I year. But it can go either way and for me, having nothing to lose can help me"		
	Close shot: Sanchez in studio, leaves and trellis background.	Interviewer: "A little bit of luck might swing it for you?" "Oh yeah, I need a little bit, but let's see what happens"		
(Bottom centre of screen): WIMBLEDON 96 Ladies Singles Final STEFFI GRAF ARANTXA SANCHEZ	Still photographs of Graf (head and shoulders) on left of screen, Sanchez (head and shoulders) on left of screen, and the here today Wimbledon trophy plate in between.	Lynam: "Barry Davies and Gary Richardson with those reports, and the ladies' finals due to start at 2 O' Clock		Sanchez laughs.
(1) GER				
(4) ESP				
BBC SPORT				

Interruption between prologue and match starting, consisting of men's second semi-final and then a fill-in from the previous year's Ladies' Singles Final.

Graphics

Image

Long shot onto court with Lynam: silhouetted crowd members in foreground of shot.

Voice

"So we're all set, then, for centre court and this year's Ladies' Final. Again, of course, it's Steffi Graf against Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, a little matter of £353,000 to the winner approximately half of that to the lady who will not be lucky today. Let's join our commentary team, it's the 1977 champion, Virginia Wade and John Barratt"

Long shot: crowd in left hand stand.

John Barratt"

Barratt: "Thank you Desmond. Well, really a buzz

R.P. accent.

Long shot, panning round: right then end stand.

around this centre court. Nobody can really believe we're going to see tennis starting when it should at 2 O'Clock. It's been one of those awful weeks, one of the most frustrating second weeks at Wimbledon I can ever remember.

Long shot onto court, from perspective in line with net post. Long shot onto court from behind silhouetted crowd members.

Why they even ran out of fudge(!) at the sweet store. And really this has been very trying for all concerned, but in the end the two form horses have come through to this final and they'll be busying themselves now in the locker-room. These last anxious moments before they leave the haven of the little room that stands just behind that screen you're looking at and is a sort of

Muffled crowd noise.

Sound effects

Music



Graphics

Image

Close shot: Duke and Duchess of Kent and companions in crowd, zooming out to take in more of stand.

Full shot (from ground level): male and female officials walk purposefully towards camera.  
Long shot from top right corner of court: officials walk to their positions...A last official walks after the rest towards the umpire's seat.

Close shot: male official and ball boy standing to attention in front...official puts pad on the steps of the umpire's chair.  
Close shot: the same official.

Close shot: archbishop in crowd.

Long shot onto court from behind silhouetted crowd.

Close shot: man in crowd.

Voice

little oasis is a sea of noise and excitement where the players wait before they come through the door on the centre court and the royal party is here, His Royal Highness, the Duke of Kent, the club's president and the Duchess of Kent, the club's chairman, John Curry. Dr. Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury is here.  
And on come the officials,

little butterflies in their tummies too at this moment. Anxious for all concerned at the Wimbledon final. And the man who's going to be in charge today is Mike Morrissey  
carrying his score pad there, on which he'll record every point in the match, a man who has done

a Men's Singles Final here, so no stranger to finals at Wimbledon. There's Dr. Carey, here with his wife today.

And the balls already being rolled to both ends in preparation for the warm up.

And Juan Antonio Samaranche, who'll be thinking already I'm sure ahead to

Sound effects

Crowd begins to applaud

Music

Muffled crowd noise.

Graphics

Image

Close shot: Graf and Sanchez carrying bouquets of flowers, walking past officials.  
Full shot: players walking onto court.  
Full shot: players turning and curtseying.  
Close shot: royal party in stand clapping.  
Close shot: Sanchez at seat, putting down bouquet...

Voice

the Olympic Games which will begin very shortly in Atlanta which you'll be able to see with us.

Sound effects

Crowd begins to applaud.

Music

Barratt: "Well, Virginia Wade, you have been the recipient of one of those lovely bouquets, tell us about the excitement of that moment"

Wade: "Well everything is so incredibly wonderfully organised at Wimbledon and

you know at precisely 2 O'clock they're on the court, and just before the flowers arrive always in the beautiful colours

of the club and, I mean, you want to carry them out, I mean, it just makes one more special touch to this incredibly special occasion"

Barratt: "There's a man for whom we spare a thought, Alan Mills on the right. It looks as if Arantxa's won the toss. She's going to serve I think, well

unpacking bag and laying out towel.

Close shot: card amongst flowers in bouquet on seat, zooming out slightly to frame the bouquet, zooming out to

Full shot: Graf walking away from the chair with the bouquet on it towards the net.

Full shot: Graf and Sanchez at net, Morrissey throwing coin up with another man...



Graphics

Image

Mills puts a hand on Sanchez's back and both players walk to face the crowd (with their backs to the camera).

Close shot (from below net post): players either side of net, smiling, who then turn to face crowd at opposite side of court. Close shot (zooming in from camera on opposite side of court): the players, smiling; players go to separate ends of court, camera follows Graf. Long shot onto court (from behind silhouetted crowd), and the moment of release is here, zooming in slowly to frame Graf.

Full shot: Graf warming up.

Voice

we shall see in a minute if that is right but Alan Mills the referee

has had a really trying time. And this is a nice little touch. They look both ways for the court-side cameramen.

Here from publications all over the world and they'll be bringing us their pictures in tomorrow morning's newspapers and magazines to come.

So the anxiety's over the moment of release is here, the five minute warm up. And it's been a trying time too for the defending champion, Steffi Graf,

who arrived here unprepared or under-prepared, she couldn't play at Eastbourne where she'd planned to play because of an injury.

But I see without that little strapping on the knee unless it's a flesh coloured one, yes it is, I think, that is less obvious on the left knee. And at the age of twenty-seven, still playing as well as ever, a world ranking of one, and incidentally, she's been 339 weeks as the number one, not all consecutively of course, and that is a

Sound effects

Crowd cheering and applauding.

Music

(Right hand side of screen, in dark green box. Letters: headings: yellow-green, rest: white):

S. Graf  
Age: 27  
Height: 5'9"  
Seeded: 1  
World ranking: 1  
Highest: (8/87) 1

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
Australian: Won 88, 89, 90, 94 RU 93		world record. She's playing here today in her twenty-eighth grand slam singles final, of which she's won nineteen, and that equals Helen Wills_'s record and is second only to Margaret Court's		
French: Won 87, 88, 93, 95, 96		twenty-four. And going today for her one hundredth career title, and her seventh Wimbledon win. It has been the most incredible career		
Wimbledon: Won 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95				
US: Won 88, 89, 93, 95	IBM Service (white in blue box)	which began back in 1983 as a professional. And would you believe, a little bit of rain is falling. I thought it was too good to be true. Well, we'll have to see if this develops... Well, well, what a...		
(graphic disappears)	Long shot: darkened crowd in stand, rain drops visible in foreground. Long shot (from high above and behind): Graf. Close shot: Alan Mills with walkie-talkie behind net; smiling men behind; Mills shakes head, shakes head, smiling. Long shot: grey sky and edge of roof of stand, panning around roof, then back to long shot of court from ground level behind Sanchez. Full shot: Alan Mills with But we all hoped that they might be policemen and ball boy in wrong. foreground. Grounds man. Close shot: crowd member with	I think that says it all, Alan. That's how we all feel. And maybe it won't get any worse. Leaden skies again, I'm afraid. This is exactly what the forecasters promised! Or threatened.		
		What a sorry sight!		



Graphics

Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
large green and white striped umbrella and gold-rimmed sunglasses. Long shot: darkened crowd in stand, with rain dripping from the roof in foreground; tennis ball flies across screen. Long shot (above & behind): Graf.	And what a terrible moment for the players, Virginia, you're just getting getting to the point  where you're beginning to lose your nerves in the warm up, because everybody has tension before a great match and here, they might not even begin!" Wade: "Well, you notice that they are doggedly determined to carry on with their warm up, because, I think, precisely what you were saying, there's all that nervous tension before..." Barratt: " But it's all over! sighs, and maintains They're off!" (with chuckle). Wade: "At least they got a few minutes out there, so it makes them feel a little bit they almost into it, but these clouds	Umpire: "Warm up suspended". Crowd low murmuring.	
Close shot: Sanchez, walking.			
Full shot: Graf going to chair, and officials running onto are court to dismantle net. Long shot onto court (silhouetted spectators in foreground): 3 officials at net. Full shot: Sanchez and Graf walking towards camera, leaving court, smiling at crowd, camera follows and zooms to	so local" Barratt: "And I just hope Steffi doesn't think back to that awful day when she played Laurie McNeill on a much worse day than this, actually, and lost" Wade:"But she did play Monica Seles in a very much a rain-j-interrupted final..."	Crowd applauds.	

Graphics

Image

close shot: players' heads behind court surround, then full shot: players walking away and turning into building.  
Long shot onto court (silhouetted spectators in foreground), officials just finishing pulling green cover over court.  
Close shot: Duke of Kent, talking concernedly with neighbour.  
Close shot: Duchess listening to neighbour.  
Long shot onto court (silhouetted spectators in foreground): last bit of court is covered.  
Close shot: underneath roof rain falling in foreground.  
Long shot: sea of bright umbrellas.

Long shot: crowd and umbrellas from opposite stand, officials passing by.

Long shot: sky and corner of roof,

pans down to crowd and then to covered court.

Voice

Barratt: "And won"  
Wade: "Very comfortably"

Barratt: "Oh dear, oh dear.  
So these sorry pictures all too familiar and I'm afraid really,

it's all been too good these last three years when we've hardly seen even a move towards the covers.

Everybody, though, remarkably, remains very good natured. And one feels continually sympathy for those who've come from a long way away to watch these championships.  
I'm afraid it's one of those occasions when you've just got to stop because if that moisture you just saw were to be left on the surface, it just becomes too dangerous, so there is no alternative and I suppose, again, this will open the debate about whether we should have roof here like they do in Australia.  
But my own view is this really is an outside championship and you've got to treat everybody the same. Oh do you know, I don't like the look of that at all"

Wade: "Well, one minute there's some

Music

Sound effects

Crowd's low murmur resumes.  
Clanking of metal.  
Metal clank.



Graphics

Image

Long shot: sky and roof, panning down to court.

Long shot onto covered court, surrounded on four sides by crowds with umbrellas.

Voice

breaks in the clouds and then it just descends on us!...

hopefully, it, er, will break up for us soon"

Barritt: "Well, indeed, that is what the weathermen said, intermittent showers"

Lynam: "Well there we are. But whatever happens when the match does get underway, I don't think we'll have

a more dramatic final set than we

saw earlier today, if you've just been tuning in for the last hour or so you'll have missed it, but, er, we can show

it to you now off tape. It was the match between Todd Martin and Mal

Washington. You remember they had

two sets all over night and they came

out for their final set earlier today,

about eleven O'clock. We'll pick up

that match with Mal Washington

serving at one-four down that final set..."

---Interruption---

Aerial view over court, zooming in.

Long shot onto court (silhouetted spectators in foreground).

Sound effects

Music

Lynam: "...we hope now that the ladies' final will get underway. As I said before the players have been out,

what, nearly an hour ago, three

quarters of an hour ago, certainly had

a little gentle knock-up then the rain

came down and in they went. But

that's the live picture now on centre

court, so the players will be out

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Full shot: unoccupied umpire's seat.	shortly once again, so here are Virginia Wade and John Barratt"		
	Long shot: blue sky and roof, panning down to long shot onto court and crowd.	Barratt: "Thank you, Desmond. Blue skies, well that's a bonus. Let's hope they remain.		
----	Players re-emerge onto court and graphic of Graf's tournament statistics reappears---			
Graf's statistics as before, half screen.	Full shot: Graf, remaining half screen (vertical split).	Barratt: "So, let's quickly just remind ourselves again about the reigning champion. Six times the champion here. At the age of twenty seven, playing probably at her peak at the moment and a world ranking of one and all those grand slam titles - nineteen in all. Equalling the record made years ago by Helen Wills-Moody. But let's now concentrate for a moment on her		
Graphic disappears.				
(Right hand side of screen, in dark green box. Letters: head-ings, yellow-green; rest, white): A Sanchez V (ESP) Age: 24 Height: 5'6" Seeded: 4 World Ranking: 3 Highest: (2/95)1 Australian:	Full shot: Sanchez.	Spanish opponent. Here she is. Such a plucky fighter. Twenty-four years old, seeded four and a world ranking of three, and if she were to win today, that would go up to two. She has been the world number one, last year in February, and she's playing in her eleventh grand slam singles final and she's won three of them - those two in France and one in America. Her most recent was that one, 1994. Playing here at Wimbledon for the		



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
RU 94, 95, SF 91, 92, 93		tenth time but reached the final for the		
French:		first time last year and told us that she		
Won 89, 94 RU 91, 95, 96		thought she was now beginning to		
Wimbledon:		understand a little bit more about how		
RU 95 QF 89, 91 4R 93, 94		to play on grass and certainly her		
US:		progress		
Won 94 RU 92 SF 90, 93	IBM Service			
(Graphic disappears)		to this final has proved that.		
	Long shot onto court from beyond bottom left corner of side of court occupied by Sanchez (silhouetted spectators in foreground);			
(Graphic appears over bottom half of screen in green box, strip beneath players' names shaded darker; names & numbers, white; rest, yellow- green):	players still visible in top half of screen, Sanchez in foreground, Graf in background.			
GRAF	SANCHEZ V	Well, now, this is their thirty-sixth meeting. Graf has won twenty-seven of those and Sanchez Vicario, eight. And the last four times they've met have been in grand slam championships. All of them finals and Graf has won all three of the last - er - all three of the	Hollow sound of balls being hit.	
	Grass 0 Clay 4 Cement 4 Indoor 0 TOTAL 8			
(Beneath green box):				
BBC Sport	IBM Service			
(disappears)	Full shot: Graf.	last meetings, yes. I suppose you'd have to say that Graf will be a narrow		

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
		<p>favourite today, Virginia, but, er, I'm not so sure she's going to be able to sustain the impetus today, but we'll see"</p> <p>Wade: "On paper this match is very, very level. Er, I think as a matter of fact, that Steffi has been timing the ball a little bit better still the possibility that she could get lulled into, sort of, a negative tone in the match and she still gets afraid to be aggressive, and seeing her up at the net, it's one of the things that you really feel that she's got to make herself go up to the net</p> <p>even if she doesn't win every point that she gets there"</p> <p>Barratt: "So this is how she reached her final, with just one set lost, that marvellous semi-final against Kimiko Date of Japan. And she's lost just thirty-seven games - rather more than usual. Somebody who is such a perfectionist, Graf, and I think personally I believe she was a little bit lucky that that match had to be called off because of bad light the other night. I think it was possible that she might have lost has they gone on, she was suffering from that nasty cold and Kimiko Date</p>	<p>(Barratt sucks in breath)</p> <p>Hollow ball sounds.</p>	
	<p>Full shot: Graf (head on).</p>			
	<p>Very long shot (from ground level): side of court occupied by Graf.</p>			
<p>(Graphic appears: green box, darker at top, round indicators and "ch'ship performance" in yellow-green; rest, white):</p> <p>GRAF</p> <p>1R L Richterova</p> <p>2R N Baudone</p> <p>3R N J Arendt</p> <p>4R M Hingis</p> <p>QF J Novotna</p> <p>SF K Date</p> <p>BBC Sport</p>	<p>Ch'ship performance</p> <p>6/4 6/1</p> <p>7/5 6/3</p> <p>6/2 6/1</p> <p>6/1 6/4</p> <p>6/3 6/2</p> <p>6/2 2/6 6/3</p> <p>IBM Service</p>			



Graphics (Graphic disappears)	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Long shot (from ground level): Sanchez.	had created the momentum. So, Sanchez Vicario. A very similar		
(Second graphic box appears, same format as before): SANCHEZ V	Ch'ship Performance	run to the final in that she too has lost just one set to Sabine Applemans there in the fourth round, the Belgian girl and she's lost only thirty-six games so she's, er, lost one fewer than Steffi and to me, is at last believing that she might win today"		
1R A Serra-Zanetti 2R M Oremana 3R N Sawamatsu 4R S Applemans QF J K Wiesner SF M J McGrath BBC Sport	6/3 6/4 7/5 6/3 6/4 6/1 3/6 6/2 6/1 6/4 6/0 6/2 6/1 IBM Service			
	Close shot: Sanchez, practising serve.	Wade: "But, John, the one thing about her run to the final's that she hasn't had to play any seeds. Of course, Monica Seles came out in that section the bottom - that would have been a semi-final match, but everybody else fell by the wayside very early. She has had a little bit of a wrist strain herself - somewhat similar, I think, to what happened to Boris, but only obviously not as bad. The problem on grass can be that the ball shoots through and if you get a little bit late obviously, you can do a little bit of damage to your wrist. And actually, if we can look at Steffi and her wrist, she's wearing a little bit of a band round her wrist and I remember a few	Umpire: "2 minutes"	
	Full shot: Graf practising serve,			

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	zooming in slightly;	years ago when she just came to the grass, she slightly injured her wrist during practice the week before. Well, she comes from the French, she generally has a couple of days' break. She comes to Wimbledon, practises furiously - I mean, really very, very intensively - then she usually goes back to Germany for her birthday and then comes back. So she comes in full tilt, and I obviously think that's the reason why you can get these little injuries" Barratt: "Talking of little injuries - that famous left knee has got a strapping - flesh coloured strapping this time, but I think it's to keep the patella up, not let it - erm - move down and - er - hurt the tendon that she's damaged. And, as usual, Heidi Graf is there in the front row, and behind Heidi is M____ Rose, who's helping Arantxa -	Umpire: "One minute"	
	zooms out to full shot.			
	Close shot: crowd members - two males in top half of screen, two females below;	oh, she chose to receive, did Arantxa, but M____ Rose in the back there, and her coach, so that's Sanchez Vicario's coach, David Miguel La Piedra, and Marissa, her mum. And in the front there is Michael's wife, I think, brother Michael's wife, and further along is - er - there we are,	Call to a player from a female crowd member. Crowd responds with ripple of laughter.	Umpire: "Ladies and Gentlemen, Miss Sanchez Vicario won the toss and she chose to receive"
	camera pans slightly to right to show two more people, a man in front, a woman at the back (four people still on screen);			
	camera pans right;			



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	zooms in slightly to frame the two men.	Heinz Gunthert, gentleman in the black cap, the former Swiss number one, who is the coach of Steffi, next to him is Crowd begins applause.	Electronic beep.	
	Long shot (above and behind Graf).	Klaus Hoff __, who runs women's tennis in Germany.	Umpire: "Time"	
	Close shot: Sanchez looking in bag at her seat.	So, wanting to get everything in order, and the mind concentrated, in these Chattering noise from last anxious moments before battle commences"	Applause peters out.	
	Full shot: Graf.	Wade: "It's actually interesting that Arantxa gave Steffi the serve first, and just seeing Steffi hitting a few more serves, her service has not been all that impressive	Hollow ball sounds.	
	Close shot: Sanchez; changing to full shot.	not - I mean, impressive, yes, but not up to her usual standards. And I think, er, obviously that'd going to be a factor today"	Individual voice in crowd.	
	Long shot (above and behind Graf).	Barratt: "So it will be the champion to serve in defence of her title	Umpire: "Miss Graf to serve. First set"	
	Full shot: Graf.		Some individual claps.	
			Linesperson (f): "Out"	
			Umpire: "Fifteen-love"	
			Crowd applauds.	
			"Fault"	
			Grunts of players; sounds of rackets hitting balls.	
15/0(in green box, white numbers; bottom centre screen)			Applause.	
15/15(as above)	Full shot: Sanchez.		Umpire: "Fifteen-all"	

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Long shot (above and behind Graf serving). Full shot: Graf. Long shot (above and behind Graf). Close shot: Graf; zooms out to behind Graf. Long shot (above and behind Graf).		Ball sounds; crowd sighs and applause. Umpire: "Fifteen-thirty" Male voice: "Come on, Arantxa"; ball sounds; crowd gasps and applause. Umpire: "Thirty-all". "Fault" (m); ball sound. Electronic beep. "Fault" (m). Isolated clap. Umpire: "Thirty-forty" Male voice: "Come on Stef, come on, Steffi"; Male voice: "Come on, Steffi" (louder); (less discernible): "Come on, Arantxa"	
30/40 Break Point	Long shot (above and behind Graf):  rally.		Ball sound; "Fault" (f); Ball sound; Crowd sighs as it's returned. Ball sounds. Enormous applause. Umpire: "Deuce"	
Deuce	Close shot: Graf, serves, Sanchez returns.		Ball sounds, crowd sighs. Enormous eruption of applause.	
Adv SANCHEZ V Break point	Close shot: Sanchez. Close shot: Graf.	Barratt: "Oh it's good."		Umpire: "Advantage Miss Sanchez Vicario"



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Long shot (above and behind Graf).	"Absolutely determined to play as many forehands as possible.	Female voices calling to players.	
	Close shot: Sanchez, looking concerned, uttering indiscernible words.		Ball sounds; grunts. Cheers, "Out" (f); applause; Umpire: "Deuce".	
	Replay (slow motion from behind Graf);	Wade: "For every reason in the world it looked as though it was going to be good, good, it had lot of topspin on it, it was pulling down fast, Steffi thought it was going to be good, and it just		
Deuce	Close shot of ball bouncing near line.	missed by a whisker.		
	Close shot: Graf.		Ball sounds, crowd gasps, applause.	
	Long shot (above and behind Graf).		Umpire: "Advantage	
	Close shot: Graf.		Miss Graf".	
Adv Graf	Long shot (above and behind Graf).		Ball sounds; gasps.	
	Close shot: Graf.		Applause	
	Close shot: Sanchez.			
	Close shot: scoreboard.		Umpire: "First game"	
3.01(logo)Rolex(logo):04		Barratt: "So Sanchez Vicario		
SETS	SETS GAMES POINTS	with those two break points		
	MISS S. GRAF			
	V			
MISS SANCHEZ VICARIO.	0			
	Long shot: Graf and Sanchez,	struck the first blow and was a		

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	seated, net post in foreground separating players; zooming in slowly;	little bit unlucky with that lovely pass, which as Virginia Wade said, did everything right, it dipped nicely but just missed the line, so difficult. And really if they give us a final like they did last year, that would be a tremendous bonus to these championships.		
	Sanchez blowing nose on towel.	Certainly the last time they met in Paris when this lady served twice for the match, what an encounter that was"		
	Close shot: Sanchez, drinking.	Wade: "Do you know, John, their matches seem to be getting better and better, er, you have to give so much credit to this lady, because she has got fantastic anticipation does Arantxa, and she just hangs on for dear life. I think the problem for her is that she's getting a little bit more accustomed to just losing these grand slam finals that's why it gets harder and harder to break the pattern.		
	Long shot (side on): Sanchez seated, ball girl standing to attention in front of her.	What an opportunity she had to break serve in the opening game"		
	Camera moves as players get up to go onto court.			
	Close shot: Sanchez.			
	Close shot: Sanchez (head on).			
	Long shot (ground level, side on): Graf.			
			Umpire: "Time"; crowd begins to applaud. Applause.	
			Umpire: "Miss Sanchez Vicario to serve"	



Graphics (top right of screen: green box letters, white):	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
GRAF 1 SANCHEZ V. 0	Long shot (above and behind Sanchez serving).		Expression of effort; ball sounds; applause.	
	Close shot: Sanchez. Full shot: Sanchez; rally.		Umpire: "fifteen-love" Ball sound; effort sound; ball; ball; Sanchez sighs. Hum from crowd, then roar building to applause.	
	Close shot: Sanchez. Replay (Slow motion, long shot with Graf returning, then full shot of Sanchez returning, Graf returning, ball hitting net and bouncing on Sanchez's side).	"The pace at which they're hitting these balls is just formidable. I mean, just whacking them and by this stage in the tournament, they're well	Umpire: "fifteen-all"	
15/15	Close shot: Graf. Long shot (above and behind Sanchez)	grooved, it's just always unlucky when a rally ends with a slightly lucky shot"	Calls to players from crowd members (m/f). Effort sound; ball sound; "Out" (f); applause.	
15/30	Close shot: Sanchez. Long shot (above and behind Sanchez).		Umpire: "fifteen-thirty"; Effort sound; ball sounds; grunts; "Out" (f); Umpire: "thirty-all". Applause.	
	Close shot: Sanchez. Full shot: Sanchez.	Barratt: "Well, I think finding the Graf backhand today will be a real problem for Arantxa that, as I'm sure everyone knows is the slightly more vulnerable wing"		
30/30	Full shot: Graf. Long shot (above and behind Sanchez).			Grunts; balls; "Out" (f); Umpire: "thirty-forty".

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
30/40 Break Point	Close shot: Sanchez.	"Good tactics though, the first are a little short, and then hoping to drive it deep to the backhand, and then she would have hoped for a short mid-court ball to whack away for a winner. So now a break point for Graf"	Claps. Calls to players: "Steffi..."	
Deuce	Long shot (above and behind Sanchez). Close shot: Sanchez. Full shot: Graf. Long shot (above and behind Sanchez). Close shot: Sanchez. Replay (from ground level, Graf in long shot, Sanchez, when in view, in full shot). Close shot: Graf.	"Topspin" Wade: " Another brilliant rally - this is a good volley but it just so happened that Steffi hadn't moved. It gave her an opportunity to show us a rare sight there. Second break point"	Grunts; balls; roar of applause. Umpire: "Deuce"  Grunts; balls; roar from crowd.	
Adv GRAF Break Point	Long shot (above and behind Sanchez). Close shot: Sanchez; to Full shot: Sanchez.		Umpire: "Advantage Miss Graf"	
Deuce	Close shot: Sanchez.	Barratt: "Yes, good play"	Grunts; balls; applause. Umpire: "Deuce" Grunts; ball; electronic beep. Umpire: "Let. First service". Grunts; balls; gasps from crowd; claps; loud applause. Umpire: "Advantage Miss Sanchez Vicario"	
Adv SANCHEZ V	Full shot: Sanchez.	"You've probably noticed the little gathered forehand with a bit of backspin keeping it low to the backhand as she went to the net.		Desperate, high pitched female voice calling to to player " ...Steffi!"



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
(In green box, darker beneath title line, letters of which are in yellow, rest: white): Final 10" GRAF . 1 SANCHEZ V 1 BBC Sport IBM Service	Long shot (above and behind Sanchez) Close shot: Sanchez.	"So both tested with break points and both have come through"	Grunts; balls; aeroplane overhead; roar of applause. Umpire: "One game all"	

Appendix C: First-order semiotic analysis of prologue to and beginning of England v Holland football match, Euro '96, ITV (18/6/96).



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
ITV Sport logo (on blue)	Screen splits into two panels:- a)main picture; b) image mirrored in side panel occupying 1/5 screen, depicting a series of players tackling others from the side, which result in collisions, with one or both players falling.		Crowd cheers and gasps. Amplified thuds of ball being kicked.	Indistinguishable instrumental music
"SIDE IMPACT THE VECTRA FROM VAUXHALL (logo) OFFICIAL SPONSOR euro 96 (logo) England"	White cliffs under blue sky. Blue sky. Blue sky merges into scene showing a crowd of faces and waving union jack flags; England players (from 1966 - holding cup - and present day: arms raised in victory). Woman waving "Scotland" banner; footballer holding cup; cup itself against blue sky background England team member hugging another in tears; England team member kicking ball across screen which becomes as it shoots towards camera.		Crowd cheering.	Volume rises to crescendo then continues with a slow, but pronounced beat.
euro 96 logo			Crowd singing (muted).	

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
graphic football explodes	Female Holland fans dressed in team colours (orange) dancing in slow motion while male fans behind look on. Players in red & green strip somersault in victory. Tartan clad fans in crowd, cheering. Player in England strip spraying water on prostrate team member. Crowd beneath full-size yellow, red and blue flag (Romania) cheering. Screen splits horizontally: a)bottom half showing fast moving aerial view of green fields, ancient castle, blue river with green banks and church with spire in distance. Aerial view of Tower Bridge and Thames; b) top half showing players in England strip playing team in orange and white then England team manager in crowd clapping. Players in red & white (France) & players in yellow (Romania) Player in Romanian strip kicks ball towards camera which turns into		Crowd cheering and chanting.	"Jerusalem" tune becomes discernible.



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
euro 96 logo football	Image shooting towards audience. Full screen: crowd; player with red shirt over head; (England v Scotland)player in England strip scoring goal; player in England strip running arms outstretched (in victory). Wembley stadium under blue skies.			
euro 96 logo football descends from top of screen to rest in centre football explodes, reformulating euro 96	of aerial view of stadium			Builds to final crescendo & ends.
logo wraps right to left	Revealing aerial shot of Wembley stadium	"What a difference a win can make. Tonight the Wembley crowd and the whole nation are behind the England team with just a single point needed for a place in the quarter finals, it's time for another spin on the Euro '96 wheel of fortune.		
England flag with "The Story So Far" inscribed in four white squares surrounding red cross.	Flag becomes transparent to reveal a panning shot of England teams, mouths open apparently singing (originally			Deep operatic male voice: "He is an English man..."

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
"On tour" in mult-coloured, bright lettering moving vertically and horizontally along left of screen	England player (Gascoigne) with mouth open Still of Gascoigne in pub. Still of Gascoigne drinking from bottle of spirits. Bar tenders juggling with bottles.			Abrupt change to squeal of electronic rock instrument
"England a joke before the off" "Nasty pong over Hong Kong Ding Dong" in style of newspaper headlines passing over image Newspaper headline: "Drunken England stars in plane shame" "Disgraceful"	Bar tender pouring spirits from two bottles into mouth of man lying horizontally on seat.  Plane taking off			Rock beat continues "Crazy Horses"
	Grainy image of man's mouth:  Two knights on horseback, wearing St. George's cross. Enormous championship trophy being unveiled. Terry Venables' concerned face. Shearer scoring goal. Baby in crowd, crowd cheering. Hand ball scene: Swiss player	"The England squad have accepted collective responsibility for what happened"		"Crazy Horses" continued: "There's a message in the air...crazy horses riding everywhere"
"Switzerland" (letters in orange passing vertically down left side of the screen)		"Here comes Shearer..."	Crowd cheering	"Got the trigger I fire like this"



Graphics

Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
gesturing to his hand; England player with hands on head in despair. Shot from behind England goal: Swiss player scores penalty goal.	"A penalty is given"	Referee's whistle.	Abrupt change: yodelling music "Yodellay-ay"
Switzerland manager in shirt and tie in crowd rising to feet. Group of Swiss fans (female in centre) with arms outstretched and fingers wiggling, raising them above their heads. Fan doffing hat with Snickers logo and England flag. Swiss fans. Swiss fans with enormous banner: "Stop it Blick". Flags either side of Swiss team, hands joined, raising arms as if taking bow. Terry Venables hurriedly leaving seat, eyes downcast.			
Close shot: Shearer.	"We didn't play well in the second half - we were dead on our feet"		
Full shot: Gascoigne walking through tunnel.	"We haven't won the game, we would have liked to, but don't rule us out"		
Newspaper headline: "Out of Gaz!" (in red & white) overlaid with "Collect your boots and get lost Gazza!" (in black & white)	"I think they're vicious, vindictive and personal"		Sentimental country music strains
Full shot: Gascoigne leaving	Gascoigne: "Have you played football		





Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
"Holland?" (letters in orange appearing singly and accumulatively from the right side of the screen)	male fan. Little boy with three small England flags painted on his face. Scottish fan looking dejected, his face painted half blue and half white, flag worn like a cloak, suspended from his neck, but open, revealing a bare chest. Gascoigne, triumphant, being kissed by team member in front of cheering crowd waving England flags. Holland fans in orange.			
euro logo "Bob Wilson" (on stripe across bottom of screen)		Close shot: man talking to "Hello, good evening and welcome to a really vibrant Wembley stadium where I'm joined by John Barnes and Jack Charlton"	Crowd noise from Stadium.	Pop music from Stadium.
	Two male figures behind desk, stadium in view behind them: Barnes (black and younger) on left, Charlton (white and older) on right. Close shot: Barnes.			
"John Barnes"		"John, what kind of game do you see here?" "I think it's going to be very entertaining. I think that both teams really have booked their place in the quarter finals so they can go out and play an open game and they've both got attacking		Soft Caribbean accent





Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Three shot. Close shot: Charlton	on show there, so I think England are going to go out to win". Wilson: "And the Dutch side, Jack" Charlton: "The Dutch side? Well, flood the midfield with players and they'll get people back and they'll always play the ball wide, which might cause a few problems for England today. The two wide men for England have really got to work because that's their main strength, being able to spread the ball wide and change the pace of the game"		
	Three shot	Wilson: "We've all enjoyed the atmosphere building up here tonight. And it is very, very special, isn't it?" "It is, it is. Orange is a very striking colour, and, you know, just walking along the road and seeing all the Dutch fans as you can see there	Fans singing.	Fans singing and sound of drum roll.
	Close shot: little boy with Barnes: Snickers/England hat waving an England flag. Lines of Dutch fans draped in orange. England fan draped in Union Jack. Close shot: fan with Union Jack painted on face, hands raised, clapping, with orange scarves over his head and around neck. Male fans in orange with Netherlands flags painted on cheeks.	"and England - Holland is a very exciting fixture, and England are at home - it's going to be very exciting"		Singing.

Graphics

Image

A man and a woman in jokers' outfits kissing.

Dutch fan in orange with can of lager.

Mounted policeman putting baseball cap with orange peak and Union Jack crown on horse's head, which horse shakes off.

Four Dutch fans: two men with red, white and blue striped outfits and "Dutch girl" hats kiss two women in orange.

Close shot: Dutch man smoking thin cigar.

Three shot in studio.

(over entire screen: group table on background showing blue sky with clouds, and green tops of white cliffs below)

Group A

	Pld	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
(red stripe) England	2	1	1	0	3	1	4
(orange " ) Netherlands	2	1	1	0	2	0	4
(yellow " ) Switzerland	2	0	1	1	1	3	1
(green " ) Scotland	2	0	1	1	0	2	1

(background: blue sky with clouds above river running through green fields with mountains in distance)

Group B

euro96 logo (on light blue stripe)

Voice

Charlton: "The Dutch are great. I mean, we - I've come into contact with the Dutch quite a lot over the past year. They're a very entertaining crowd as well . They enjoy the games, they have a few drinks, they don't go mad, but they're great fun. And them and the Irish got on tremendous together and I'm sure they've got on well with the English this...But they're very nice people"

Wilson: "Lovely pictures"

Wilson: "Good, well, it's also important here that we check on the group table.

As we see a draw will not only guarantee England's qualification but ensure that

they win the group and stay at Wembley for the quarter finals. Even if they lose, England could still go through. For example, if Holland were to win by a single goal, Switzerland would have to beat Scotland by three goals . The Scots can only qualify if England win and they beat Switzerland by a big enough margin. Highlights of that Scotland game later on in this programme by the way. Group B, well that provides the quarter

Sound effects

Crowd in stadium chanting "E-N-G-L-A-N-D".

Music





Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
"U is for Usually beat England" appears. "(when it matters)" appears at bottom centre screen. "T" appears in centre, moving to beneath "D" & "U". "T is for Total Football".	Goal being scored from a free kick over a wall of England players.	"He's going to flip one now, he's going to flip one, he's going to flip one"	Voice increasing in volume	
"C" appears in centre, moving to beneath "D", "U" & "T". "C is for Crazy Fans".	Player with ball, tackled by opposing team, manages to pass to team-mate, who resists tackles and passes back to original player who dribbles up to and past goalkeeper and defenders and scores goal (both players black).		Crowd cheers.	Strains of inexperienced trumpet playing. Rock beat continues.
"H" appears in centre, moving to beneath "D", "U", "T" & "C". "H is for Hiddink".	Oval insert of Dutch fan playing trumpet, taking up most of screen, blurred surrounding image shows fans in orange, some with orange wigs.	"That's the task of the manager, to co-ordinate the		
"Guus Hiddink Coach Netherlands" (on blue stripe across bottom of screen) Letters "D", "U", "T", "C" & "H"	Slow motion shot: suited, moustachioed man punching the air in victory.  Very close shot: same man.	qualities of an individual and to manage like a cook a good recipe for results and good football"		



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
disappear singly off screen to left, then reappear together diagonally across screen, spelling "DUTCH" from bottom left to top right.				
	Close shot: Bob Wilson.	"So the teams due out in a couple of minutes, England hoping they can go through in style by beating the Netherlands"		ends.
euro96 logo "Tony Adams Captain, England" (on stripe at bottom of screen)	Close shot: player in blue England strip background of green field and trees.	"Obviously we're going to go for the win. I think it's important that we do and if we achieve that it obviously breeds confidence and you can go on and forward from there, erm, but the main thing is, obviously, to qualify and get into the last eight"		
	Close shot: player in white England strip, to right of screen.	"I don't think we know any other way to play than to go out to win. I don't think I've been involved in a team that's gone specifically to get a draw in a game and I think it would be very dangerous as well to do so"		
euro96 logo "Gareth Southgate England"				
(in main image:) GREAT FINISH THE VECTRA (in red box)monochrome ochre in contrast (in smaller image:) FROM VAUXHALL (logo) both images framed by black. OFFICIAL SPONSOR	Slow motion shot: player scoring goal, screen splits into two horizontally, bottom fifth mirroring action in remaining four-fifths above, but in		Amplified thuds  Cheers.	"Jerusalem" (to fast, rock beat)

euro 96

#### Advertisements

- 1) Adidas "Predator" football shoe, featuring Paul Gascoigne as "The Magician"
- 2) BAA duty- and VAT-free shopping at airports, shot from perspective of a bungee jumper, who is being told by the instructor, "Not paying the VAT is how come you can afford to bungee, right?"
- 3) Mercury "One 2 One" telephones, featuring inserts of football fans waving scarves in slow motion, and other indicators of locality: Manchester Evening News; road sign to Wolverhampton; red buses; Penny Lane street sign; and names of towns appear graphically. A voice asks, "Which of these places are now connected every one to one?", while the images appear and disappear.
- 4) Fugi photographic film, showing a camera and film spinning in a futuristic, computer graphic landscape: "Fugi film's new advanced photo system has arrived..."
- 5) Mercury "One 2 One" telephones. Images of kite flying, angling, football and roller skating appear and disappear while a voice says, "Only Mercury One 2 One offer you 48 hours of free local calls"
- 6) Car advert, featuring man driving a car through a hostile New York, to the tune of "I'm an Englishman in New York". A voice says "Whatever's going on outside, you'll always feel really good inside", and the car moves into an elevator, and drives into an apartment where a young woman working at a lap top computer, stops and hands the driver, who remains in his car, a cup of tea. The driver is then shown operating a remote control device, and we hear "They think it's all over. It is now", at which the woman's face takes on a pained look and she turns away. The words, "Relax it's a Rover" appear on a black ground.
- 7) Adidas Power Soccer and Play station: computer game and hardware. Blurred images of men in a locker room appear and disappear. Images of football boots appear and slow, quite sinister music with a heavy beat is heard, which begins to speed up and "adidas

power (logo)

soccer" appears on the screen, while images from the computer game are intercut with images of men's football-booted feet and legs. The final image is of a play station and the words, "Do not underestimate the power of a play station".

- 8) Mercury "One 2 One" telephones. A voice says "For the low-down on the digital network that's growing fast, call 0500 500 121".

- 9) BAA: the Bungee jumping instructor is shown at the edge of a motorway with a phone number on a bill board, saying "You want to check out the airport prices yourself? Well, freephone this number - go ahead, you got a phone? Use it".

- 10) Lucozade: images of footballers and flood lights in a quick moving montage, to the sound of club music, with the words "Lucozade sport (in the same graphic style as the can) isotonic drunk at all the best clubs" emerging from images. Final image is of a bottle and can of Lucozade and the words "gets to your thirst fast".



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
"HANDLING" appears centre left. "THE VECTRA FROM VAUXHALL (logo) OFFICIAL SPONSOR euro96"	Handball incident at near goal mouth, framed by black border.		Muted cheers and thuds.	Jerusalem
Graphic peels off screen to reveal:	Aerial shot: Wembley Stadium.  Shot from within crowd: pitch and England flag being waved. Close shot: fan, mouth wide open, raising and lowering fist, singing along with rest of crowd. Female fan in orange and big top hat and pompoms.  Long shot: panning around crowd right to centre Long shot: crowd.	Wilson: "Welcome back to Wembley Stadium on a lovely June evening and where England hope to progress to the quarter final stage of Euro '96. Holland the opponents for the host nation this evening and er... the atmosphere this evening is quite fantastic. The voice of Freddie Mercury is getting everybody in the mood here at the moment, but, John Barnes,  "just one little ominous point for England, er, I note that they've only won one of their last eight meetingsMuted crowd noise. with Holland" Barnes: "Well we've got to win sometime, and why not now? You know, as you say in the last eight we haven't but I think there are four draws in there somewhere, and..." Wilson: "There are four draws you're right" Barnes: "and this is as good a time as	"We will, we will, rock you" (Queen) Taped music from stadium  "We will, we will, rock you" (from crowd)	
			Taped music.	





Graphics

Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
Long shot: Dutch fans in sea of orange, looking up at crowd. Close shot: England and Dutch teams emerging from tunnel, past camera.	Barnes: "Well, er, I don't know about that but Holland, er, scraped through on qualification and I think and they're here with the possibility of going through to the quarter finals, I think, now, apparently they've sent Edgar Davids home, and I think if they've got to go together. So they really will put it together out there Wilson: "Your choice as the teams from emerge here into daylight? Your choice for tonight?"	Loud speaker sound Stadium. Cheers from crowd. Whistles.	
Long shot: teams emerging from tunnel. Close shot: England fans. Barnes: "I will go for an England victory. A 2-1 England victory" Long shot: teams emerging.	Wilson: "2-1 for John Barnes, Jack?" Charlton: "I'll go for a draw" Wilson: "But it's going to be..." Charlton: "Could be nil-nil, one-one, two-two, three-three" Wilson: "Three-three would do nicely" Charlton: "It would be nice" Wilson: "It would be very nice for England. OK. Thank you gentlemen. Well, Danny Blind	Cheers and whistles.	
Long shot: crowd and pitch. Close shot: players emerging. Close shot: two male England fans, face painted as England flag, wearing T-shirts printed England flag, and words: "England pride of Europe" Long shot: teams emerging. Close shot: crowd	and Tony Adams leading the out the teams. Let us join now our commentary team: Kevin Keegan and, first, Brian Moore"	Muted cheers and whistles.	
Aerial shot (from above tunnel):			





Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Long shot from opposite side of pitch: backs of fans' heads looking onto pitch, where two teams are lining up in front of flags. Long shot: crowd, England flags waving in foreground.	Glen Tilbrook of Squeeze will sing our national anthem and Bill Van Dyke will sing the Dutch national anthem.		
	Long shot: flags on pitch, teams lined up, crowd opposite. Close shot: Ince, then panning down line of players, as all but two England players mouth words, resting on final player as anthem ends who begins to clap, and rest of team come into shot, all seen clapping. Close shot: two England flags in crowd. Close shot: fans in crowd clapping. Close shot: fans with painted faces in crowd waving flags. Long shot: players on pitch by national flags and crowd opposite. Close shot: Dutch team member, panning down line, holding each player in close shot (all but one keep mouths closed), until, at the	Loud speaker in stadium: "Ladies and Gentlemen please stand for the national anthems" (in R.P. accent). Crowd cheers. Crowd sings.	"God save the..."	
				Anthem ends
			Crowd cheers and claps.	
			Crowd cheers. Crowd whistles.	Dutch anthem.
			Clearly discernible	

Graphics

Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
end of the line, all of the players, Dutch and England teams come into shot.		whistles.	
Close shot: female Dutch fan, with painted cheeks and a woolly hat, singing.			
Close shot: fans in orange shirts, scarves and hats, cheering.			
Close shot: male and female fans cheering and clapping.			
Close shot: previous female fan, surrounded by male fans, clapping.	Moore: "Two anthems superbly sung		
Close shot: cheering male fans, waving flags.	"creating a great atmosphere		
Long shot: teams lined up by flags on pitch.	"with a lot of emotion to it as well. Again what is traditional is that the teams are shaking hands. Another innovation that UEFA have brought in that's absolutely right on the button. Let's take check on the teams	"E-N-G-L-A-N-D"	
Close shot: teams shaking hands.			
Long shot: pitch, and players in distance.			
Pitch in view beneath graphic.	"and Terry Venables has gone big on loyalty for the third game in these championships he starts with the same eleven, it doesn't mean, though, that the formation will be the same. Three central defenders on Saturday against the Scots, we expected I think to be give more of a flat back four today	Loud speaker from stadium: R.P. accent announces England team members. Crowd cheer at each player's name in	

List of England team members on blue panel



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
Players' positions, names and numbers within blue rectangular box.	Pitch visible beneath graphic.	to counter Holland's two wingers "Gareth Southgate moving from t midfield to the defence alongside or maybe just in front of Tony Adams. Cooler conditions tonight will please those midfield workers, Paul Ince and Gascoigne particularly. Can Alan Shearer	response.	
Graphic disappears.	Normal shot*: pitch revealed.	"make it three goals in three games in these championships? That certainly would answer a lot of questions. Holland, without Edgar Davids who's been sent home, but with the same side that beat Switzerland last Wednesday, the side that gave the impression then that their best form was now almost in reach. They'll probably have three at the back, Reiziger, Blind and Bogarde. Seedorf may well be the man to make Gascoigne and de Boer also is going to take some subduing in midfield, he's such a fine player.		
List of Netherlands team members.	Pitch visible beneath graphic.			
Player's positions.	Pitch visible beneath.			
Graphic disappears.	Full shot: England players kicking ball at Seaman in goal.  Square insert appears at top right corner of screen (above goal in main picture): Terry	Bergkamp will be supporting on the flanks by Jordi Cruyff and Hoekstra. Let's have a word with the England crowd manager, Terry Venables, while he and his players certainly are aware of the magnitude of this occasion. "No, I think they're really up to it. We know it's not over yet and we've got another game to play against a very	Dutch team members announced via loudspeaker: give cheers combined with whistles in response.	

Graphics

Image

Venables talking.  
Main picture changes to show pitch with stand in distance.  
Image in insert changes to another close shot of Venables.

Voice

opposition, they're developing all the time, but we've made our plans out and we hopefully that - er - we're in fine fettle"  
"They're big games and there's a lot of responsibility on our shoulders and want to do everything right for the country. They got behind us so well against Scotland, I thought that was absolutely fantastic"

Sound effects

Music

Insert disappears.

Normal shot: pitch with players in position, zooming slowly in to Close shot: kick off.

Volume returns:  
crowd in stadium cheering and singing.

Moore: "Well, the Dutch with their famous orange shirts will be kicking off. It's almost like a home applauding and game for them - their fans are absolutely incredible here. Kevin was saying just before we came on air, it must be 50/50 Dutch

Close shot: Dutch player passing.  
Normal shot.

and English as far as the fans are concerned. And remember, it's not since 1982 have the English beaten the Dutch. Here's Jordi Cruyff, cut out by Ince, but Winter's there, plays his football in Lazio, a great pal of Paul Gascoigne's. Seedorf. This is - er - a promising chance here for the Dutch, with de Boer, Cruyff again, Seedorf, England being pinned back at the moment. Seedorf, flicking the ball out there to the tall outside left,

Whistles.



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Close shot: Hoekstra. Close shot: Seaman.	Hoekstra and a goal kick for England. The unflappable David Seaman, a hero of course on Saturday with that wonderful penalty save against Scotland that turned the whole game.	Referee's whistle. "E-N-G-L-A-N-D" chants.	
(flag)"David Seaman" (euro logo) "Goalkeeper Age 33" (across bottom of screen)	Normal shot.	I think even he's been amazed by the amount of publicity he's been getting over the last couple of days, but it won't...		
(flag)"NETHERLANDS V. ENGLAND(flag)" "commentators BRIAN MOORE AND KEVIN KEEGAN" (on two strips, centred at bottom of screen) (bottom half of graphic flips over to reveal, as if written on reverse:) "EXCLUSIVELY LIVE FROM WEMBLEY STADIUM"				
(time elapsed)"Netherlands 0-0 England" (Score appears at top left of screen, and ITV Sport logo at top right)	Close shot: Adams with ball. Normal shot.	"I've got a feeling, Kevin, we're going to have a real edge of the seat ... here tonight" Kevin: "Yeah, there's absolutely no reason why we shouldn't - both teams can relax a little bit, Brian, the fact that England are playing the same side for the third game on the trot..." Moore: "Here's Shearer, Sheringham's waiting in the middle, it's inch-perfect, no, it's not, I thought it was coming across from	Sigh	Crowd's roar increases and turns to applause.
	Close shot: Shearer. Close shot: Van Der Ser.			

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Normal shot.	Sheringham, but not and look at this for a break from Alan Winter, with Bergkamp, who scored twice against England in his last two games. Free kick to the Dutch.	Referee's whistle.	
	Close shot: Bergkamp, on ground, fouled by Paul Ince. Full shot: Bergkamp and referee. Close shot: Ince.	"Ince already on a yellow card, remember, from a previous game and, well, we know all about Dutch free chants: kicks from the edge of penalty areas and certainly David Seaman will from that memorable night in Rotterdam, 1993.	Crowd whistles.	"oh England, we love you"
	Normal shot: closer. Close shot: Seedorf. Normal shot: from above wall of players forming in front of England goal. Full shot: Witschge.	It looks to...Witschge's going to be the man who's going to have a crack at it here, no Ronald Kulmer(?) here, of course, now Ronald de Boer is close at hand as well, it might be de Boer, it's Witschge's shot and it's no problem in the end for England.		
	Close shot: Witschge.	Keegan: "Yeah, a dangerous place to give away a free kick against anyone, but especially the Dutch, Brian, because they really do seem to pack a few players who've got punches - actually he .... this so well it keeps rising, it doesn't trouble David Seaman at all"	Loud crowd murmur as shot is taken, roar after.	
	Replay: free kick from above and behind goal.			



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
"(flag)Richard WITSCHGE(flag) Midfield (on strip at bottom of screen) (disappears)	Close shot: Witschge.	Moore: "Just a quick reminder England need a win or a draw to put them into the quarter finals . That would leave them at the top of their group. They would play here on Saturday against Spain who finished second in group D.	Crowd singing:	"We love you, England, we do...oh, England we love you"
	Normal shot. Close shot: Sheringham's header. Normal shot. Close shot: Reiziger. Close shot: referee.	All sorts of permutations with this game going on here and the one up in Villiers Park between Scotland and Switzerland by the end of the night as it unfolds we may well need our calculators and a lot of mental agility as well. Blind, so important to the Dutch at the back, clearer. their captain comes forward and those runs need to be stopped as well. Winter. Some real inspiration he is. Here he is again, taking the pass from Cruyff, just clips it down, finds Jordi Cruyff, scored his first goal for his country against Scotland, and that really, got him over [...] Switzerland, against Switzerland. Here's Bergkamp. There's his shot charged down by Gareth Southgate. Here's Witschge having his shirt tugged by Alan Shearer. Big Winston Bogarde, playing it for Reiziger, quality full back here as well. A good turn there	Crowd's singing is	"...England we love you"
"(logo)Gerd Grabner AUSTRIA(flag)"	Normal shot.			ends.
			cheers	





Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
"(flag)Darren Anderton Age: 24(logo)"	Close shot: Anderton.	lucky to keep his place, but Terry's persevered with him and that'll give him confidence hopefully because he's capable of playing a whole lot better - I know he's been injured - but much, much better than he's played up till now. If he steps up, Brian, anything could happen"		
(disappears)	Close shot: Van der Ser  Normal shot.	Moore: "It certainly is time he was perfect and getting back to something like fitness with two goals just before the tournament started against Hungary. That really earned him his place. Here's Seedorf, but given away to Anderton again. That just clipped off the defender, Aron Winter. Pearce then with the throw for England. Sheringham - another player who's got a little bit to prove in this tournament so far. Adams, finding Neville. Gascoigne. A little turn, a little flick. Finds Sheringham with it. Anderton again, moving inside a little bit. And Shearer comes wide. And look, who comes with him? Winston Bogarde. Southgate, a little run chased by - er - Bergkamp. A change of direction and Bergkamp's persistence pays off. A little flick by him. A challenge by Gascoigne draws		
	Close shot: Winter. Close shot: England player throwing ball to Pearce for throw in.			
	Full shot: Southgate with ball.  Normal shot.			
			Cheers at volume.	

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Close shot: Gascoigne.	a roar from the crowd. It just flicked off Anderton it seemed to me, but the referee is not giving anything. A throw for England.		
	Normal shot.	Here's Gascoigne. What a wonderful goal that was on Saturday against the Scots. McManaman. His first real run at the Dutchman. And forced to go wide there. Some terrific play actually there by Reiziger. McManaman picks it up again. Maybe he's in the mood. And here's Neville. Now, what a good cross he gave Shearer		
	Close shot: Neville and Hoekstra. Replay.	on Saturday but on that occasion... Hoekstra had come back and England get a corner" Keegan: "That's exactly what we've got to do against the Dutch, Brian. Neville has got to get further forward. I think he proved the other night, as you say, with that cross	Crowd cheers.	
	Normal shot.	Full shot: Neville about to that he's as good as anybody in the last third but for England he's never really looked		
	Full shot: backs of Sheringham Shearer and Adams by the goal.	to get in there as much as he's got to from now on in this tournament, I think"		
	Normal shot	Moore: "We're looking at Sheringham		



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
		and Shearer here, but Adams has come up at the near post as well. Shearer's shot! Banged off the line there by Witschge. Played in again... That was a fantastic shot by Shearer, and an excellent - it just shows you the value of having a man at the post as well. Pearce, a bit long. A good start by England - a vibrant start. Gascoigne. Sheringham. Almost got it through to Gascoigne again. But here come the Dutch. Winter to Cruyff. Back to Reiziger. Here's Seedorf. Edgar Davids, of course, has been sent home. Davids would have been floating around those sorts of positions. It was a brave decision		
	Full shot: Reiziger from behind. Normal shot.	for Guus Hiddink to do, the Dutch coach. And here's Winter trying to get beyond Southgate. Southgate took a bang on the head. And the corner's conceded" Keegan: "I was reading in the paper, Brian,... Here's that cross again, What a great strike this is. I mean, Sheringham can't get there. He hits it so well. And it's Witschge on the post, isn't it? Doing	Boos and whistles Singing.	
				Rhythmic clapping and chanting.
	Replay.			

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Normal shot.	his job.		
	Close shot: Witschge.	Tremendous defending really"		
		Moore: "It's Witschge now with the corner for Holland.		
	Normal shot.	Bogarde's		
	Full shot: Witschge.	there. I think Adams will have to watch him. Well in towards the post.		
	Normal shot.	And England were in real trouble there.		
	Close shot: Winter getting up from ground and jogging off.	Aron Winter it was with a header there"		
(flag) 12 Aron WINTER (logo) midfield Age: 29		Keegan: "They certainly were in trouble, Brian, but when the ball's delivered as well as that it is very difficult defending. You know, you only get one chance. Look at the way he whips this ball in. Front man can't get to it. From that point on they're in trouble. I think, actually, he just mistimes it, it hits his shoulder.		
		I was just saying before that chance for an England shot, one paper was saying that Jordi Cruyff was a shadow of his father. Well, even if he was only a shadow of his father, he'd still be a hell of a good player"		
	Normal shot.	Moore: "(chortles)It's been a bright start by England. I always feel that - certainly with Ajax - you can hustle them on a little bit, you've got to get at them right from the word go and not let them impose themselves on the game. And I just hope that England will do that here		



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
(Score and time elapsed:) (flag) NETHERLANDS 0 (flag) ENGLAND 0 10.04 SEMA(logo)GROUP (disappears after 5 secs)		but at the moment the Dutch are looking very good when they do come forward. Handball there by Bergkamp" Keegan: "Another interesting tussle there. Two club mates. Know all about each other now" Moore: "Adams to Bergkamp" Keegan: "But we've had the start of the game we wanted. Both teams really from the kick off having a good look at each other. Not like a lot of games we've seen so far, both teams want to win this one, Brian" Moore: "Yes, even if they finish a draw they would both qualify, but I get a feeling they both want to win it, one, because they - I don't think you entirely agree with me on this one - I think they both would like to play their quarter final here" Keegan: "Well, I'm sure a lot of people would think England would, but I personally would like to see them move and go to Anfield. I always feel we should play a few games away from here, maybe that's why. But I can understand why other people think that England wants to play at Wembley. I think the next time the Dutch would like to come here would be for the final. And of course this could be the	Referee's whistle. Crowd noise increases.  Whistles, sighs. Chanting: "Shearer, Shearer"	Trumpet strains.
			Crowd applauds.	

Graphics

Image

Close shot: Hoekstra.

Aerial shot: Wembley stadium, zooming in.

Full shot: Southgate (from above).  
Normal shot.

Voice

final, Brian.

It's not beyond the realms of possibility that we're seeing a repeat of the final here, because the way the draw splits, these two teams could be in the final"

Moore: "Seaman's goal kick. Southgate

who looks much more comfortable in that defensive position than he did certainly in midfield. But of course he was born and bred a midfielder in his Crystal Palace days. Here's Adams. Ince.

Full shot: Anderton.  
Normal shot.

Finding Anderton.

Pearce has gone well

forward. Here he is, taking the ball

from Sheringham. Teddy Sheringham

again. Gascoigne. Sheringham. Back heel.

Ince says thank you. Here's Shearer.

Nice movement here by England. Good

passing by England. Sheringham now.

Gets it back again to McManaman. Can

we get a killer ball in here now? No, it's

gone for Anderton, and now for

Gascoigne, good movement by England

and good passing. The crowd are Cheers.

enjoying this. Now Neville. Good cross-

over ball but this time beyond all the

white shirts.

And it could be...A Dutch throw"

Keegan: "You sound so surprised, Brian,

Close shot: Neville.

Full shot: Reiziger with

Sound effects

Music

Chants.  
Cheers.

Crowd sings:

"Swing lo,  
sweet chariot"

Crowd cheers  
increase.

ends.

Loud murmur.



Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	throw in.	as you said 'good' movement and 'good' passing by England. We can play like the Dutch, we've just got to believe a little more in ourselves"		
	Normal shot.	Moore: "Right, here's Gascoigne. Makes space for Shearer. Can he make good use of it? Trying to get the ball in. He gets a corner off Danny Blind. No, it just seems to flick back. Well, Shearer can't understand that decision, but a goal kick's been given" Keegan: "That's Reiziger" Moore: "That's Reiziger, yes" Keegan: "[...] leave 'em at home, Brian" Moore: "Should have been a corner.	Crowd noise at volume.	
	Close shot: Shearer in bewildered open-palm gesture. Close shot: Blind. Close shot: Gascoigne. Replay.		Whistles.	
(flag) 9 Alan SHEARER (logo) Forward    Age: 26	Close shot: Shearer.  Normal shot.	Just listen to the crowd getting behind England now" Keegan: "To be fair, Brian, this is the first time they've started brightly. They want to get behind them, but as I say to the players at Newcastle, you've got to get the crowd going. They come and say, first of all, you get us going'. They don't just come to support.	"E-N-G-L-A-N-D" chants  Referee's whistle.	
	Long shot: sea of male fans. One, then another, stands and gestures in an exaggerated pointing motion towards pitch.		Chants and cheers.	

Graphics	Image	Voice	Sound effects	Music
	Close shot: male fans clapping hands over heads.	They need encouragement.		
	Close shot: more male fans clapping hands over head, one with back to pitch.	They're getting it tonight"		
	Normal shot.	Moore: "Gascoigne. He can certainly get them buzzing..."		

Match time elapsed: 12.31

\*Normal shot = long shot of pitch taken from various cameras situated in the stands which allows for most of footballing action to be seen.



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